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FINIS TABVLE,





the modern control of the take to fe the take to fe

Sthetyme is an inventour of novelties, and a register certayne of thinges aunciente, and at the ende tyme grueth ende to that suffrethe ende: The trouthe all onely amonge all thinges is privileged, in suche wife, that whanne

the tyme semethe to have broken her wynges, than as immortall the taketh ber force. There is nothonge fo entier. but it diminisheth, noz nothrng so hole, but that is werr, noz nothinge fo ftronge, but that breaketh, noz nothringe To well kepte, but that corrupteth. Soo all thefe thonges tyme acheueth and burieth, but onely trouthe, the whiche (of the tyme and of all thynge that is in the tyme) triums pheth, Aepther to be fauoured of the good, noz to be perfecuted of the vil may be, but that fomtyme trouth may be stopped and hydde, but whan it is displeased, and wyl di= splease, than at the laste the comethe to a good porte, and taketh londe. The truites in the fpanapage tyme baue not the bertue to apue fultenaunce noz perfite (wetenes to fatisfie the tate of them that eateth therof : but thanne paffethe the feafon of fommer, and harueft comethe, whis che tyme bothe better type them, and thanne that that we Doo eate Dothe profite bs, the profe therof is ryahte fauetynelle, and quethe the more force and bertue, and the greatter is the tafte. I will in thefe firfte wordes farc, that in the fyalte aeges menne were moze eltemed by their meke customes and belycatenes, than they were after reproued by their groffe and rube bnderstandynges. Certaynely fome of the aunciente philosophers, I speake of the moofte aunciente, as welle Caldees as Grekes, who fyifte lyfted them felues to regarde the sterres of the he= uen, and surmounted the byghe mounte of Dlympius, there to contemplate and regarde the influences of the plas

planettes in the heuen: I bare well fave, that they have rather merited pardon by they tono aunces, than pray= lynge oz grace by their wyledome. Thele were the fyzite that wolde ferche the trouthe of the elementes of the he= uen, and yet they were the fixfte that byd fowe errours in thynges naturall of the erthe. Homere in his Illiade faid thefe wordes in fpeakinge of philosophers: 3 prayle no= thynge the knowlege of myn auncefters, but I can them great thanke and papic, in that they defpied knowlege. This was well fand of Pomere. for if among the aunciente men had not rayned fuche ignozaunce, there had not ben fo many fectis and parcialities in cuery fcole. De that hath redde the aunciente antiquities of the philosophers, chall not benape me, the prefumption of the knowledge and ignozance of that they belired to knowe, the whiche is chiefe caufe, that science is not all one: There is great nombre of parcialities, Cynitiens, Catoiens, Deripaticis ens, Academpens, & Epicuriens, who were as contrary in their opinions, as dyucrs in their naturalities. I wplle not that mp penne be fo difincafured to reproue foo moche the auncient men, that the gloric all onely foulde abyde with them that be prefent. Truely if he merite quarbon and papie, that the weth me the way, wherby I thinke to paffe : pet no leffe meriteth be that fheweth and abuilethe me of the wape, wherby I mape fayle. The ignozaunce of the auncient men hath ben but as a curde to aduple and aduertife all other, and bycaufe they erred, we have foud fothethe way, to their great prayle, a to our great hame. I fap that if we that be nowe present had benne than, we had knowen leffe than they bydde. And if they that were than were nowe at this houre, they fhulde furmounte bs in knowlege. And that this is trewe, it appereth wel. for the aunciet lages, with their diligece to know the trouth, bp

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by their close and ferme made the wayes: But we by our flouthe folowe not the open waves. Chan to the purpofe that I wyll laye, we that be nowe present, canne not com= playne of them that have bene, but that the trouthe (the which accordynge to Tule. Bel. is doughter of the tyme) In this tyme of the worlde beclarethe to be the errours that we oughte to fice, and the trouth of the boctrine that we ought to folowe. But as nowe the humayne malyce is to experte, and the biderstanding of mortall menne is fo bulle, that in tyme of nede, in goodnes of wytte fayleth, and in all pll we knowe moze than we oughte to knowe. In suche wife, that some with one parte of the moze, and fome with leffe, al prefume to win the game. And though this be true, yet it is but a smalle thynge to that we abyde foze: There is foo moche that we oughte to knowe. foz the most ethat we knowe, is the leaste parte of that we be ignozant of, as the thynges natural, according to the ba riette of the tyme, lyke maner both the operations of the elementes. In semblable wife in thynges moztall, as the ages hath fucceded, fo are discourred the fcieces. for certarne all the fruites cometh not togreer. Whan one fay= leth an other begrnneth to entre in feafon . I welle fare, that nepther all doctours amonge chaffen menne, noz all the philosophers amonge the gentylles were concurrante in one tyme, but after the beathe of one good, an other came better. The hygh and supreme wyscoome, the whi= che all meane thynges gouerneth by Juftice, and Depars teth it accordynge to his bountie, will not that at oone tyme the worlde Gulde want or be deftitute of fage men, noz at an other tyme want of fymple perfonnes : fome de= fringe the fruite, and fome the leaves. In fuch forte that they fhaloe have enuy of that other were impeched. This auncient world that ranne in Saturnus dayes, the whi= A. II. che

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the otherwise was called the golden worlde, the whiche was fo esterned of them that faweit, and foo moche prayfed of theym that harde the waitinge therof, and foo moche defired of them that felt no parte therof, was not gold by the lages that byd aplte it, but bycaule that there was none pll that did bnaplt it. This our age nowe is of iron: pet it is not called of iron, for faute of faces, but bycaufe the malycious people furmounte. I confeste one thynge, and I thynke I chall have manye wyll favour me in the fame, that there was never in the worlde fo moche people teachynge bertue, and foo fewe folowynge the faine. Aul. Bele farth in his boke, that the ancient fages were holde in reputation, bycaufe there were fewe teachers and ma= ny lerners: at this houre it is contrary, there be but fewe lerners and many teachers. The smal esteme that the sages be in at this tyme maye be fene by greatte beneration that the philosophers were holden in as than, the whiche thynge was trewe: Homer amonge the grekes, Salomon amonge the Debrewes, Lygurge amonge the Lacedemo= nyens, Lyuie amonge the Romayns, Cicero amonge the Latines, Apolonius Thianeus amonge al the barbarike nations. I delyze to have ben in all thefe ages, whan the worlde was fo tyche of fage perfons, and fo poze of fym= ple persons, whan they assembled out of ferre countreis, and of druers realmes and strange nations: not all one= ty to have hard their doctrines, but also to have seen their persones. I thynke I am not bearled in the historyes for whan Rome in his moste prosperitie was hyghest in tryumphe, Titus Liuius dothe write it in his histories, and the glozious faynt Ferome affirmethe it in the prologe of the byble, that mo people came to Rome to fe the eloquences of the bokes, moze than to foy any Ramayn triumph. Whan Dlympias was belivered of her childe the greatte Alexander

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PROLOGVE.

Alexander, Philip ber hulbande and father to the ponge chylde wrote a letter to Aristotle, wherin he sappe: I apue greate graces to the goddes, not all onely that they have apuen bnto me a fonne, but bicaufe thep baue apuen bem to me in the tyme that thou may fe be his may fer, and he thy disciple. Darc Aurele the emperour, of whom this pre Cente boke intreatethe, he speakinge of hym felfe waote to Polion thefe wordes: frende I wyl thou knowe, that I am not made emperour by reason of the bloude of my piedecessours, noz yet for the fauour of my lynage nowe prefent, but it was bycause I have ben always a frende, and louer of the fage people, and enmy to theym that have no good knowlege. Byght happy was Rome to chofe fo baliant an emperour, and ryghte fortunate was that emperour to come to suche an empire, not by patrimonpe but by fagenes. And if that aege was glozious in joyinge of his persone, no lese it is to bs to tope of his doctrines . I will intitle this boke the Golden boke. It mape be called golden, bycaufe in fo high estimation it holdethe the bertuous discoveringe in their tymes this boke with the sen= tences, as thefe princes holdethe their mynes of golde in their Indes. But I fave that at this houre there be moo hartes banyfhed into the Indes of golde, than to employ them to rede the werkes of this boke. Saluft faythe, that there ought great glozy be gruen to them that have bone thefe high and great actes: And that there oughte no les fame and renowme be gruen to them that in a good figle have writen them. In this cafe I confesse to deserve noo merites for my traduction or any fame, but 3 demaunde pardon of all them that be lage, for the fawtes that thep shall fonde therin . Foz excepte the divine letters, there is nothunge so well written, but that there maye be founde necessitie of correction, lyne, and lensure . Semed this a.iii. tobe

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to be trewe, by that Socrates was reproued of Plato. and Dlato of Ariftotle, Ariftotle of Abentuy Scilio of Sulpice, Lelie of Marro, Marin of Come, Enio of Do race, Senec of Aule Gele, Eftratocles of Strabo, Tefato of Galene, Dermagoze of Cicero, Dzigen of faint Jerom, Capit Jerome of Buffen, and Buffen of Donate : Sothe that in them a in they werkes there bath bene correction, who were men of byghe knowlege, it is no reason that 3 fulde be in their fraternitie, feing that I knowe fo lytell as I bo to the exampnation of wife and bertuous men. To them I submpt this present warke, and to them that have ben luche, I them require to be content to be the re bers, and not luges therof. It were no pacience to fuffre, nozlawe to permytte, that a thynge that a fage perfonne with great maturite and delpberation hath witten, to be disprayled by a symple persone. for ones redying, oftentymes the auctours and wapters are dylpapled, not of them that can traduce and compole werkes : but of them that can not biderftande theym, and pet leffe rede theym. A lare further of aduantage, that druers have watten of the tome of the land Marke Aureleo emperour , as Hero= Dian wzote lyttel, Eutropio leffe, Lampzidio pet leffe, Au= lius Capptolynfomewhat moze. The wattinges of them and of other lemeth rather epitomes thanne hyltories. There is difference betwene this writinge, and that they wrote by herynge fay : but they by whom I have compofed this present warke, they were wytnesse by syahte, and not by hering of other, but they wrote what they faw them felfe: That is to lay among the maysters, who lerned the faid emperour their frieces, there were thie that is to fap. Junio Raftico, Cina Catule, and Serto Cheronenle, ne= uewe to the greatte plutarke. Thefe bene they that haue waitten this prefent hiltorie, Serto Cheronenle in greke,

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and the other two in latpne. I thynke of this histogre is but fmall notyce, bycaufe bnto this houre it hathe not be fene imprinted. Whan I departed from the college of my fluop, and wente to preache in the palays, where I fame fo many newe nouelties in the courtes, I delphered my felfe with greatte delyze to knowe thynges, and gaue mp felfe to ferche and knowe thynges aunciente. And the cafe fortuned on a daye, redyinge an historic, I founde therin matter to be noted in a piffel, and it femed to me foo good, that I put all myn humanne forces to ferche farther. Ind after in revolupage opuers bokes, ferchyng in dyuers li= bearies, and also speakinge with divers lages of druets realmes, finally I founde this tretife in flozence, among the bokes left there by Colme De Dedicis, a man of good memogy. I have bled in this writinge, the whiche is humayne, that that dyuers tymes bathe bene bled in divis nitie, that is to reduce, not woade for woade, but fentence for fentence: we other interpretours are not bounde to anue for the meane the wordes, it fuffifeth to anue for the werghte the fentence: As the historiographes, of whome there were dyners, and the histogre that they made was all but one thynge : I will not beny, but I have lefte out fome wordes, which were not mete, nor wel fittyng rube. and left of valure, and I have medled it with other more Iwete and profitable. I thynke that every wyle man, af ter be bathe redde this boke, will not fave that I am the principall auctour of this warke, not pet to tuge me fo ta= nozant to exclude me clene from it, foz fo brabe fentences are not founde at this prefente tyme, nor to fo bygh a ftyle they of tyme paft neuer atteyned .

prologue.

Ders

MARCVS AVRELIVS.

There bearmeth the boke of the lyfe of the noble and eloquent Darke Aurele emperoure.

TDf the brith and Iranage of Marke Aurele Anthony emperoure. Cap. pzimo.

A the pere of the foundation of Rome . bi. C. lxxxb. in the Dlimpiade a. C. lxiii. Inthony the meke, beinge beed, than confulles fulute Cato, and Gnee Patrocle in the hygh capitol, the. iiii. dape of Dctobze at the Demaunde of

al the people Romann, and confent of the facred Senate, was declared for emperour briverfall of all the monarche of Rome, Marc Aurele Antony. This excellente bacon was naturally of Rome borne in the mounte Celie . And according as Julius Capitoline farth, he was born the. bi. kalendes of May, the whiche accordinge to the accompt of the latyns, was the rrbi. daye of the monethe of Appl palled. Dis father was named Anio Tiero. for b accaspon wherof the historics bruers tymes calle hym Darc Inthony Mero. True it is, that Adriane the empecour called hym Meriffimus, bycaufe in hym was neuer founde no lpes, noz neuer fayled the trouth. Thefe Inius Heres was a lignage, that anaunced them to be Desceded of Auma Dompilio, and of Quinto Curtius the famous Romann: whiche forto belyuer the towne of Rome from perpile, and to apue his persone perpetualle memozpe, of his owne good free wylle he reloed hym felfe to the same bozage, that as than was fene in Rome. The mother of this emperour was called Domiciade, as Cone historien recounteth in the bokes of the lynages of Rome . The Camilles were persones in that trine greatly estemed, by cause they were accompted to be descended of Camille the

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famous and auncient capitagne Romagne, whiche belyuered Rome from the Gaulles that had wonne bit . The menne that Descended of that lygnage were called Camilli, for the remembraunce of Camille, and the womenne mere alfo calledde Camilles, in the remembraunce of a boughter of the faybe Camille , that was callebbe Camils la. There was an auncpente lawe, that all Romagnes huld have a particuler privilege in the same place where their predecessours had done to the Romanne people any areat feruice. for this aunciente custome they had pringlege, fo that all they of the lynage of Camille were kepte and magnitagned in the high tapitoll. And in cafe the bas ricte of the tyme, the multitude of tyzantes, the evulition and moupinge of civill warres were cause of the dyiny= nyffpnge of the aunciente Polycie of Rome, and introbuced in maner a lyfe not berye good, yet foz all that we reede not, that the preeminences of the Romannes were broken, but if it were in the tyme of Sylla, wha be made the bniverfall prefeription agaynfte the Darians . After the bethe of this cruell Sylla, in exaltynge of hym felfe, Julius Celar the pitiefull, made dictatour of Rome, and chiefe of the Marians, admulled and budyd all that Sylla had made, and brought agayn into the auncient effate the common welthe.

Twhat hath benne the conditions, the estate, ponertie, tycheste, fauour, or distanour of the auncestours of this Warc Aurelee Emperour, we fynde not in the aunciente histories, and yet it hath ben disigently serched. The aunciente Komapne historiens were not accustomed to writte the lynes of the emperours fathers, namely whanne they be made monarches, but the merytes and graces that their children had as for the auctoritie that they had inheritinge their fathers. Trouthe it is, as saythe Julius

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Capitolyn, the father of Mathe Aurelee themperour, hab ben pretour in exercises, and capitarne in the frontiers, in the trme of Traian the good, and Abatan the wyle, and Anthony the meke, emperours. This is coffrmed by that the fame Marc Aurelee wote (being at Rodes) to a frede of his called Polion, that was at Rome, faringe thus: Many thinges haue I felte and knowen frende Polion, by the absence of Rome, namely of that I fe my felfe here alone in this ple: but as bertue makethe a fraunger na= turall, and bice tournethe naturall to a fraunger: Ind as I have ben. r. peres here at Rodes to rede philisophp, I therby repute my felfe as naturall of this lande, a that hath caused me to forgette the pleasures of Rome, and tt bath lerned me the maners of the ple. And here I haue found many of my fathers frendes . Dere was capitayn agapufte the Barbariens, to mplorbe Adrian, Inthonpe my father in lawe, the space of. rb. peres . I lette the to wrte, that the Rodian people are curteis, and ful of good graces. I wolde have redde philosophy as longe as my father had ben at Rodes in warre, but I may not : for als Drian my lorde commaundethe me to go and kepe relidece at Rome, howe be it every man reiopfethe to fe his naturall countrep.

The by the wordes of this letter it is to be beleved, that Anio Ulero, father to this emperour Marc, had applyed the mooste parte of his lyfe in warre. It was not the cursome lyghtly to truste a person to have the office of a gouernour on the Frontiers, without he had bene well exercycled in the feates of warre. And as all the glozye of the Komapues was to leave after they mgood renowme, the sayd Marc certapnly was taken for the mooste vertuous, and had greattest frendes in the Senate, wherby he trusted on the conquest of the most cruell enumpes: according

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ag the fapte Serto Cheronenfe biftozien fapth . The IRos marns all though they had in their handes moofte perpl= loug wartes, pet thep habbe in foure pattes of the empire ftronge and entier garnifons. That is to far in Brance. the which is nowe Constantinoble, by reasone of theym of the oziente: Ind Engades, the whiche nowe is cal= ledde Caler a citie of Sparne, for loue of therm of the well: In the rouer of Rhobano, which is nowe p rouer of Ryne, for the Germaynes: And in Colloffe, whiche nowe is called the Rhodes, bycaufe of the Barbariens . In the kalendes of Januarie, whanne the lenate deup ded the offrees, beinge pourueved of a dictatour, and of two confulles perely, Incontinent in the thirde place they proups bed for foure molte ercellent barons to befende the fapde foure frontiers : The whiche femeth to be treme , for the mofte famous and renowmed barons in they ponge bais were capitapnes in the faide frontiers. The great Bom= peius was sente to the Byzaunces Constantinoble : The worthy Scipio was fente to the Collostences and Rodyans: Ind the couragious Julius Cefar was fente with the Gabytaynes of Calpr of Spayne: Ind the ftronge estemed Darcus was fente to them of the ryuer of Ryne. This we fap bycaufe that Anio Acro father to Marc Aurele emperour had ben prouoft and pretour in the offices, and one of the capitarnes of the fronties, whiche oughte

> Twhat maysters Marke Aurelee hadde in his pouth, cap. ii.

to be in Rome one of the perfones mofte eftemed.

The haue not by any autentike histories, fro whens, whan, oz howe, in what maner, oz in what exercples, o; with what perfones, o; in what londes was spent & co= fu= 25. II.

MARCYS

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fumed the moofte parte of the lyfe of this good emperour. But to be shorte. Julius Capitolyn faith, that he had ben rriti. pere buder the commaundemente of Adrian the emperour. Dowe be hit contrary wife is founde by other hyforiens, accordynge as faythe Serto Cheronenle in his bistorie. It was not the custome of the Romannes crontclers to write the thynges doone by thefe princes, before they were princes, but onely of yonge people, beinge in their yonge age, haupnge greatte and her magnificence, and boinge aret interpules. This femeth to be of trouth: for Sueton Tranquill recountethe largely the fearetulle bedes and enterpifes doone by Caius Jule, done in his ponge age, to thewe to princes to comme, howe it was a great ambicion, that they had to attern to the monarchy, and but of smalle wrtte and maturitie to bepe theym felfe therin. It is no newe thrnge for men that gape for hye and fraple thonges. For the more higher the magnificece is, the more lower they fele fortune. And when they were diligent to accomply the their delyze, as moche thoughte had they to conferue their quietnes and refte . In cafe tha that Into Ucro father to Darke the emperour, folowed the exercise of warres: pet he put his sonne in the way to lerne science. for there was a lame fore bled and accusto= med, and well kepte in the Romanne policie, that everye citefen, that enioped the libertie of Rome, and had accom plyfoo .r. peres : their fonnes fhuld not be fuffred to goo by the Arctes as vacabondes, noz it Quide not be fuffred by the Cenfure, who gouerned Rome, a dayly toke hede to the forfaytes Done therin, to luffre a chyloe no lenger than.r.peres of his age to play the chribe. But fro thens forthe the father of the chylde thulde be bounde to northe that it wa hym out of the circuite of Rome, or to lave a pledge that than the c his some chulde do no folges. Whan Rome triumphed, and

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and by they policie governed all the worlde, it was cere taynly a merueplous and monfiruous thrnge to fe it the . and no leffe fearefull bnto be nowe to here therof. There was at that tyme in Rome. iiii. hudzed. AB . inhabitantes. amonge whom there was . ii. hudzed. 90. ponge people, that were refreyned and baybled from their yonge pleafures. The sonne of Cato was chastrled, breause he was wifull and prefumptuous. And also the brother of good Cyna was banythed, bycaufe he wente poelly as a bacabound. Without that Cicero begyleth be in his bokes of the Romayne lawes, no Romayne ought to frave abrode in the fretes of Rome, but if he bare in his hade the figne ortoken of the office, wherby he lyucd. To thentente that every man thuld knowe, that he lyued by his trauaple, & not by the sweate of other men. This lawe was kepte of euerp persone. The emperour habbe boine before hym a beennynge brande : The confulle an are of armes : the prieftes a bat in maner of a corfe: the fenatours a tonge in maner of a crufpble on their armes, the fenfure a lyt= telle table: the tribunes a mace: the centuryons a franz or baner, the oratours a boke, the gladiatours a fwerde, the tayllours theares, the fmethes a hammer, and in like wife of all the other offices and craftes. we mave knowe than by this that is larde, that after that Marc Aurelce was borne at Rome, his father in his pouthe had taughte hym good norture. And though it fo were, that the beginnynge of his yonge aege fulbe be hydde from bs: at the least way we are certaine, that the myddel aege and ende of hym was ryghte glozious. His father Anio Aero wold that his fonne Marcus Aurelius Moulde leave feates of armes, and folowe fludy. And furely it is to be thoughte, that it was done moze by the valpauntnes of the father, than the cowardenes of the sonne, excepte the decdes of 2B.iii. them

them that be deed begree be that ben alvue, and the cause tudged by clere binderstandinge, and that we fynde moo Centences of druers labbe perlons, that there hath benne but fewe that ben lofte by writinges and lernynge, pe and a great mepupe fewer that have had avantage by armes. Revolue all bokes, and ferche throughe all realmes, and finally they thew bs, that bery few in their realmes have ben happy in armes, but there have bene many famous & renowmed by fcripture and lernynge. Take here erample and fe if it be true og not that I fave. Dad the Affiriens mo than one kynge, that was Minus, one Ligurge amonge the Lacedemonians, the Capptiens one Ptholome, the Debrewes one Machabee, the Grekes one Bercules, the Bacedoniens one Mleraber:the Epirotiens one Birrhe, one Danyball the Carthageniens, and one Julius Cefar amonge the Romanns . It is not thus of lerned men : for pf the grekes had one Homer, noo lelle the Grekes baunteth thepin of the, bii. fages, whome we beleue moze in their philosophy, than Domer in the warres of Trop. for as difficile it is to fynde a trouthe in Domere, as a lye in thefe fages. Semblably the Romannes habbe not onelp Treeto as tratt eloquent, but also they had Saluft, Lucan, Titus Linius, with a great company of noble men, and well approued, who hath left right great credence in their Criptures in the lainge of trouthe. What lofte Ciceto in the lenate for blyng of invectives ? And as we lay of fo fmal a nombre of Grekes and latrnes, we mare fare of the Afficiens, Perlians, Medes, Argines, Acapens, De niens, frenchemen, Britons, Englythemen, and Spaother in 1 myardes. All the whiche nations withoute compartion specte, th have of theym felfe lefte moze memozye, and have honow lawe disp ced they londes and countrepes moze by writing, thanne were hon they that have lefte lignes by armes. Than lette be leave thele

thefe empe Acco. so be mer b other agrel Como Ded to great fio DB to hau and m his ma nowm what e wherof that the all scien che foz i wrote h bethe, a and exce was tau the auno loffe in t Retoziki to that p perpli (h thele straunge histories, and retourne to the pithe of our emperour Marcus Aurelius, as Eutrope recountethe. According as this excellent baron lerned divers fciences, to be had opuers maylers to teache hym. He fludied gramer with a mapfter named Cuphozion, mufpke with an other named Gemino Comode, cloquence with Alexander a greke, In naturall philosophy he had to his mapfters Comobe Calcebonien an auncient baron, whiche erpoun ded to hym Homer: and Derto Cheronense neuew to the great Plutarche. Also he ftubied in the lawes, and Wolulio Deciano was his mayler. This emperour eftemed to have the knowlege of payntyng, and to grave in wood and metall, in erthe, and other fculptures, in whiche art his marfter was Diogenito, in his tyme a famous and re nowmed paynter. De trauapled also to knowe and ferche what extended to the arte of Aparomancye. By occasion wherof he wente openly to here Apolonio. And to thentet that there foulde be nothing bulerned of him, he aboue all sciences fette his mynde to Cosmography, in the whiche for his mapfters, he toke Junio Baftico, that fothe wote his lyfe, and Cina Catule, the whiche wrote of his bethe, and the lyfe of Comode his fonne. De thefe noble and excellent barons, that flourplifted in those dayes, he was taughte in bertuous and sciences. Cicero lamenteth the auncient policie of Rome, bycaufe that he fame great loffe in the common welthe than prefente, faringe in his Retozike, that the auncientikomayns had alway regarde to that parte, where they thoughte moofte bomage and pervil hulbe growe. There were. b. thynges amonge all other in Kome, wherbuto they hadde euer a bigilante respecte, the whiche the senate neded not to care foz, noz no lawe dispensed for them: and these ben thep, the priestes bere honest: and the virgines bestales righte chaste: the penal=

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AVRELIVS.

penalties righte iufte, the capitarnes full baliant : Thep that taught ponge chylozen were bertuous . It was not permytted in Rome, that be that was a mapfter in fcpen= ces, thulde be disciple of vices.

T what sciences Darcus the emperour lerned. Ind of a meruapllous letter that be fent to Dolpon. Cap. iii.



Dilostrate saythe, that it was demaunded of Polion, who was the tychefte manne of the worlde: He answered, It was he that had mofte wyledome. De was demaunded agapne, who was moofte pooze: De aun: (wered, he that had least wytte. Df trouthe

it was a worthy fentence of fuche a perfonne. The effecte therof we fe dayly by experience, the wpfe flydynge in dy: uers chances of fortune releueth bym felfe: The buwpt ty persone, in bery small thynges touchynge bis lyuynge not areately decayed fallethe Downe. There is nothynge that is loft, but that there is hope of recouerping, if it be in the handes of a wpfe man. And contrarie wife ther is no thynge fo affured, but the recoverance therof ought to be feared, if a fole have the authinge therof. It was ared of Zenophon the philosopher, whether he hadde rather to be foolpfhe and a greate loade, or to be wpfe and poore . De auniwered and lapde, I haue pitte of a tyche foole, and I have enupe of a wyle manne waren pooze. for if a wyle man haue but one fote, pet wyll he tyle and kepe hym felft from fallynge. And if pe apue an abbay to a foole, pf by fortune he fal. he will neuer releue agayn, ve may thinke that the father that dieth and leaueth his Conne pooze and wele, that he leaveth to hom moche. And he that leavethe bis

his noth of th was mak he m man maui that t moch whor he w levn. (fi toler bath l ueth i teth o to hpr be bat to one is bett anp m at the toaw he be t annop full th flouth wyllpt

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his sonne tyche and foolyshe, I thynke he hath lefte hym nothynge. These thynges considered, Anio Ulero father of the emperour, as a father that loved his sonne hartely, was not contente to delyver one mayster to his sonne to make hym vertuous, and to lerne one science, wherwith he myght occupie his understandynge, but he gave hym many maysters, that refreyned hym from vices, and commaunded that he shulde lerne many sciences, to thentente that he shulde be the more besily exercised. Whan a howe moche he travalled to lerne, and what sciences, and with whom, and with what wyll he lerned, and what he knew, he wrote hym selse, being at Agrippine, nowe called Coleyn, to a frende of his named Polion, as it foloweth.

I frende Polion thou meruaplest why that I leave not to lerne newe thynges at the ende of my dayes. He that hath but one meate to cate, and can nat eate therof, be leueth it, and peraduenture it was hollom for hym, and eas teth other thynges that he feeth, which mave be hurtefull to hym. Itis a great magnificence to hym that feeth that be hath dyuers fortes of meates, fo that if he have no luft to one that is good for hym, he map take of an other, that is better. He that is wyle mave understande me withoute any more declarynge. As in all artes a man is contente at the lafte, so at the last be they never so swete, they tozne to a werynelle. De that knoweth but one science, though he be wyle, pet he renneth in great daungier. foz beinge annoyed therwith, he will occupie his lyfe in other hurtfull thynges. The noble and worthy persones, that caste flouth fro them, have lefte of them eternall memozie, not wyllynge to lerne all onely one science to attempte their bnoerstondynge with, but also trauaplle to lerne dyners other, wher with they Charp their wittes, to thentente that they be not bulled and made blont. In all naturall thyn= acs

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ges, nature is with right lyttell contente, but the spirite & biderstanding is not satisfied with many thinges. And fithe the understandpage is of suche condition, that it is lofte by libertie, and is lyahtly encombeed, with subtilite it percethe, with quicknes it knoweth, a with ignorance it wasteth: it is necessarie by tyme to remout to bery hie this acs, lest it bow buto lowe and pll thynaes. All corporalle domages that chaunce to most all men, are by medicynes healed, or by reason remedied, or by length of time cured, oz els by dethe ended. The onely bnderfandynge, which is dulked in errours and deplaced in malyces, can not be healed by medecines, nor redressed by reason, nor holpe by councell. The aunciente philophers in the layde hapove golden worlde, and golden age, dyd nat all only lerne one thynge, wherby to fusterne their lyfe, and to encrease good fame: But they trauapled to knowe all that was to be knowen, and yet ever foughte to knowe moze. In the lerb. of the Dipmpiade, as dpuers personnes were affembled in the hygh mountagne Dlympius to celebrate the playes, by fortune thither came a philosopher of Thes bes, which had made all that ever he brought with him. De made his showes, his cote, and sewed his therte, and had written his bokes, and fo of all other thonges. They that were there affembled, were abathed, and meruaplied areatly that one man coude do it . De was byuces tymes afked where he lerned fo many thringes. And he auniwes red and farbe, the flouthe of man is the caufe, that one arte is biuided into druers artes. for he that knowethe al artes together, multe nedes knowe one alone. This phis losopher answered highly. And surely they that herd him, ought to haue bene as greatly afhamed of his wordes, as the philosopher was of the vainglozy of his apparel. Let every man remembre hym felfe, and let no man blame the Most=

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thortnes of the tyme, nor wekenes of our nature. for thet is nothing to hard, but it is made foft: not fo high, but it map be raught: noz kept fo clofe, but it map be fene: noz fo subtyle, but it may be felt:noz so barke, but it may be ligh= ted: noz fo profounde, but it may be discouered: nor so disceuered, but it may be gathred to gether: no: fo loft, but it may be found : nog fo impossible, but it may be conserued, if with al our hartes we occupie our powers in good erer= cifes, and applye our biderftandynge in hyghe thyinges. Toeny not, but our nature is lyttell worth: But I know= lege that leffe worth is our flouthfulnes. I wold bemade of cupil men, the whiche prave be to be good, and arethe councelle of bs for their fenfualitie, favenge that they be werke and frayle, all thoughe they have bnderstandinge to muent cupls, and have frengthe mough to put theym in effecte, and to perfeuer therin, they never lacke constance. The cause is, we calle it naturall for to doo and commptte vices and miseries. And southein vertue we calle straunge and weake bycause of the werkes.

Lette no man infame our nature for beynge weake and faynt: nor laye not to the goodes, that they be cruell: for we have no lesse ablenes to do well, than redynesse to doo yll. Lette none saye, I wyll, and I can not withdrawe me from vice. It is better sayde, I mape, but I wyll not folowe bertue. I wylle not defame strange realmes, but I wyll speake of bs that be latynes, and by theym shall be sene howe they have benne full of malyce, and that they myght have done well. I wolde wytte of the dedes, that Darcus Anthonius dyd with Cleopatra: The proscription that Scilla made of the nobles of Kome. The conjuration that Catilina invented agaynste his countreye: The bloudde that was shedde for the cause of Pompeye in the campe of Pharsale: And the greatte theste that Ju-

Cit. lius

lius Cefar made of the treafour, the cruelties that Aero byd to his mother, the Chames that Calvaula commytted with his lifters, the treson that Brutus ord to his father Ciaius, the Mewdenes and cruelties that Domician Dyd to the birging bestales, the treasons that Julius Batro= clus bled with the Sylitions and Syculians, the fraves An urbers that Alpio the mariner made in the temples and churches of Camparne. I wolde knowe of luche as Tha ue reherled, and dyuers other that I have lefte, that apply ed them to fo many threwde turnes, who letted them (if the, " had wolde) to have applied them in boinge other good o edes! All this I have layde my frende Polyon, to auniwe reto that ye haue demaunded of me. That is, in what fci ences I have walted and confumed my tyme. Wherfo ie it pleafeth me to telle it to the. Anio Wero my father (ui fred me but. bill. pere in imp chylohode : thanne tyl I was . r. pere of age I went to schole for to wayte and rede: and than fro. r.to. riit. I wente to fludy with Eufozmion, and lerned grammer: fro. rift. to. rbit . 7 lerned e= loquence with Alexander p greite, a famous opatour : tha after that tyme to. rrit. I was with Derto Calcedon letnonge natural philosophy. Those peres passed, I was at Rhodes and fludied humanitie toll & was . rrit . pere of age. And than I wet to Paples, where as I was the pere with fonton a greke, lernynge greke letters . Ind I put my good wylle foo moche therto, that I fpake and wrote greke moze eafily than latin. Than I retorned to Rome, where the warre of Dace grole, to the whiche Adrian my lorde fent me in persone: and bycause that in armes and tyme of warre I coude carre noo bokes of cience, I determpued me to lerne the fcience of mulike with Dieronime Comode, to thentent that I mpaht with Iwetenes of casethati instrumentes restreyne my body fro certagne bices, whis che

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che as than in my house bygan to take force. All the reste of my lyte thou knowest it hathe bene in berynge of offyces in Rome, but o the tyme that the weyghte of the monarchy was brought into my handes. Hytherto the emperour spake. That by this letter that he wrote to his fred, it semeth wel, y without scuth he passed his tyme. It is reason to beleue it holly, in that he hath sayd. For so excliente workes y he made, a so high sentences as he wrote myght not procede but of a prudent man, and a very wyse spirite.

Dowe for the wyledome of Marcus many wife men flouryfhed in his tyme. cap. iiit.

she lyfe of the prince is but as a whyte for all other to thote at, and and glasse wherin all the world both beholde, so we se by experience that whervinto a prince is inclyined, the people tranapilyinge to followe the same, have no

bulgare discretion to eschewe the eurile and folowe the good. Certaynly they muse no lesse byon a counterfayte foule made of fethers, than thoughe it were of fleffe, and pet atte the frafte flyghte bit leefethe the lybertye, and yet his hunger is not therby quenched. Whereby all the wynges of lybertie are tourned to pepne of feruage. It is a great offence, and an immortall infampe, to a prince, that in the stede to grue his hande of good lyuringe to releve other, cafteth backewarde his fote of eurli example, wherby al other ouerth weth. Than without copartion greatter is the wyckednelle of the people, than the neglt= gence of the prince. for if one lyueth pll, and an other foloweth hym, it is no meruapile: and yet thoughe there be but fewe that folowe hym, hit is no newe thynge. Poz in cafe that many folowe hym, is no fearefull thynge: but at C.tit. the

the hole to folowe hym is a great sclander. If the people were fuche as they ought to be, one fulbe rather tourne from pli to good for many, than many for one shuld torne from good to pll. Certapnly every man knowethe, that pf we be bounde to honelte commaundementes of our papitces : pet we be not bounde to folowe thep; plle lyunge. What hall we save nowe than, sernge that nowe adapes the belytes of men are of foo greate patce, and the rygour of their empire in so poze estimation, that without chame fome disprayle their fult commaundementes, and folowe their cupil werkes. D if the princes had fucke nombre of good folke, that wolde fulfyll they commaundement, as they have greatte nombre of fuche wretches that folowe their doinges, I fwere that there fulbe be no nede of any pation for the mylogers, or carcans for blafphemers, chats nes for fclaues , or heddringe blockes for traptours , nor knyues for aduoutters, nor galowes for theues. I wylle avue you example of all this, whereby pe shall se, that it is trewe that I fay. If the kyinge be inclyned to hunte, all which well be hunters : if he be a player , all well playe : pf he ble armes, all well tournep : if he be an aduoutrer, other wyl ble the lame : pf he be, other wpl be fpers:if he be bets tuous, all wyll be bertuous and baliant, if he be tempes rate and moderate, all well absterne: if he be harde, all wyl be boloe. pf he be pittefull, all wyll haue pitie: if he be wpfe, all wyll lerne. And to thentente that we blame not allonely the princis of our days, lette be call to memore Octaur the princis of tymes paft. Who that hathe redde Sertus tio, Cal Cheronenfe in his boke called the dyners inclynations to gyth that princis have had, fhall fende that Romulus founda- his bnc tour of Rome, honoured greately grauers in ftone : Au Domiti ma Pompilius his fucceffour honoured paiftes : Daulus moze to Emilius mariners : Caius Celar goldlingthes : Scipio lighed

the liqu play his papt his i other Drue hath cis w Deth ! fauor we fa tour 1 Ipe; fp moch than t 'nthis Dius, 1 tus, T niug, 8 ly but t and T faples: This fi

all buthaiftes, the whiche by Tytus his baother, had ben banylihed and expelled. And as I fave of thefe fewe in nombre, I myahte fay of many other. for certaynely the topfe men were not thus intreted in the tyme of this good emperour Marcus: and that this is true it femeth by Dy= uers ercellent barons, well lerned in divers fciences, that flourished in his tyme: Juli9 Capitolin recouteth of them as foloweth. Alexader a greke, Trafion, Bolion, Cutici, Anius Macrion, Caninius, Crodiaticus, fornius, Coznelius, Apolonio, Dius, Sertus Cheronele, Junius Baflicus, Claudio Maximus, Cina Catulus, Claudius Seuerus, and the renowmed Diogenitus paynter, 4 the wel Icrned lawyer Woluftus Decianus. Al thefe were in this emperours palays, and refident in his prefence: And pet for al that he had dyuers other wife perfons in Rome, and abrode in Italy. It was no meruaple to fe in those Days. the multitude of menne that floury fbed in wyfedome. There was no father, but if he had two fonnes, he wolde fette one of theym to fludge, and the other accordinge to the Romanne lawe, foulde be fette to the warres. And pf this emperour wofte of any wofeponge man, aboue at o ther he wolde fauour hym.

Df the emperour Parcus fonne named Ueriffmus, Ca. b.



His emperour Marcus Aurelius hadde only iwo fonnes, as Herodian faythe. The greatest and eldest was called Comode, and the you gest was named Aerissmus. He was a fays

chylde of personne, and ryghte vertuous oflyuynge. With his beautie he drewe to hym the cies of many, and with his good inclinations he robbed the hartes of all

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men. De was the hope of the people, and the glorie of his fathers age. And though the eldeft was prince, yet them= perour Determyned, that the lafte bogne, for his bertues Chulde enherite as the eldeft : And he that was frift boine for his bemerites fhulbe be bifherited . And as good De= fries in the best tyme faple often by buhappy chance, this emperour being of. lit. peres of age, and the fonne of. rbi. the alogie of Rome, and hope of the father, the lyfe of the fonne toke an ende. And as moche was the Dethe bemayled, as the lyfe belyzed. It was great pytie, for the fenate by reason therof same not themperour, not the olde empe= perour for forowe fawe not the fenate of a longe fpace. Rome was right heup, and the fenate withdzewe them to the height of the capitoll druers dayes . And as the myftes and wyndes cause the leaves to falle that were grene in fommer, and the bedes of honour constravne bs to forget the myfhappes of fortune, as a man of highe lyanage, and of ftronge courage, thoughe that forowe remapne in his harte, and abydethe locked therin, determynethe to clenfe the braunches of forowes that is outewarde, fap= nynge top and myth outwardly, kepyng the folowe with in : Thus Marcus the emperour, as a man whole byne frefeth and dyethe, wherin he had all his hope, contented bem with that was lefte behende. Whan his dere fonne Heristimus was deed, he sente for the prince Comode his onely enheritour, whiche fyth the chylde his brother was beed, entred not into the palays. And the emperour ferng the proude and outractious porte of his fonne Comode, bedewed his eien with falte water, remembring the fhame of the one, and the dethe of the other. The whiche perceyued by faustyne his mother, whiche loued hym moste en= tierly, commaunded to have her some awaye fro the prefence of his father.

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TWhat wple auncient men Marcus chole to infructe his fonne. Cap.bi.

Houghe that the harte of this emperour was occupied with the deathe of his chylde, yet for all that he reyled his understanding, to have the prince his heire ryght well brought uppe. For certainely princis bene suche, whan they

come to mans effate, as they be broughte bp in their tender youth. The father than knowinge the frayle inclinations of his chylde, not correspondent to the good gouetnaunce of the empire, as a good emperout fente ouer all Italy for the most wyfelt persones in lernynge, the moste famous of renowme, and the moofte bertuous in dedes . And as in dyuers thynges the infampe is greatter in the pli doinge by malyce, than the faute of the trespallour by weakenes: fo in dyuers other thynges, the comon boyce is more than the fecrete bertue. for the whiche occaspon after the affemblynge of thefe wyle menne, the emperous commaunded to example them, and to be informed of the bloudde of their predecessours, of the appointmente in all their thynges, and of the treatie of their bulines, and of the credence amonge their neighbours, and of the pures nes of their lyues, and grauitie of they perfones, and finally of their sciences, what they coude doo, and this to be done in an order. The aftrologiens in aftronomie, the musitions in musike, the ozatours in their art of retozike: and fome in other fciences . And this not in one daye, but in many, and not onely by information of other, but he wolde knowe hit by his owne propre experience. Thus they were all exampned, fo that there was none lefte behynde. And as for perfecte knowlege of thynges, wherin we have great affection, it behouethe to have frange abuile

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uple, clere buderstandpinge, and propre experience: fo the emperour commaunded to chose out of dyners a fewe, & of the fewe the wylest, and of the wylest the moste experte, mofte worthy, and mofte auncient. Ind according to the bii. artes lyberall there was affigned to enery fcience two mapfters: fo that the prince was one, and the mapfters rini. This renowme that the Emperour fente ouer all to have maylers for his fonne the prince, caused to come to hym moo wyle men from fraunge countreps, than of the marches and nevabbours of Rome. The good emperour consideringe that it was no reason, that suche as came to his service shulde returne myscontented, some with joy= full wordes, some boon certaine hope, and some with aiftes and prefentes were dispatched, soo that they were all pleased. And if this doinge was renowmed by the reporte of the wife men, it was no leffe bertuous by the wifedome and worthenes of the emperour to fende them home foo well content. for he fent them away as wel fatisfied that were ouercome, as they were contited that ouercam them. And certapnly they had all reason, for some bare the swete wordes and latisfience of the father: and some aboobe there charged with the enterpaise of the sonne. Yet the good emperour not beinge contented with this, comman= bed that these maystes shulde be lodged in his palays, & to eate in his prefence, and to accompany his perfonne, to le if they lyfe were conformable to their science, and ye their plefant a well couched wordes agreed in effect with their warkes. It was a meruaplous thyinge to fe the ftu= bye and thought that the emperour had to regarde them, as well in goynge as fedynge.

D.II.

Dowe

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Thowe it chaunced to frue wyle men, where fore they were put out of the emperours house. Cap. bit.

A the month of Septembre, the. ri . day ther= of, in halowynge the feaste of the Emperours natputtie, in the same house where as he was borne, in the place of mounte Cellio, As a trewande and fole both lyke hym felfe, and femblably as be is accustomed to do: Then lyke as one bothe the sem= blable thynges and customes, that he is wonte to do: foo the emperour fet moze his intention on wyfe me, than his eies on foles. De fame, b. of them fatte betynge the pauement with their feete, and arole from their places, clappinge their hondes, speakinge lowde, and laughinge excedyngely, the whiche was no lesse marked of the empecour than beholden. Whan the fealte was done, he called them alpde, and layde: frendes lette abyde with me the pitiefull goddes, and lette the good dedes goo with you. I have chosen you to thentent that foles Quid be converted to wpfe men, but I fe wpfe men become foles. Do pe not knowe that with the free of myrture golde is deawen, and by the lyghtenes of foles wyle men are proued ? Ceta taynly the fyne golde defendeth his qualites in the quyck fournayes: and lykewyle the wile man hewethe his bertues amonge fooles. Wote pe not that a foole can not be knowen amonge fooles, noz a wpfe manne amonge fage folke : Amonge wife men, the fole is made brighte, and as monge foles wife men do flyne. Do pe not knowe what Chame it is to make p disciples of foles, mapters of pains cis ! know re not that of the couragious binderstandinge procedethe the composition of the bodge, the reste of the person to be the temperance of the tonge : what prospect ityou

itpon bndet [wete awher moder it (hot well b table Des: A be apu than to ozdept his kn the eup gardel fapllet with th olde pz this ho the (col the wer and lea grece t them to good b tather t abpdei (3 Che 3 lawe bp with

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it von to haue an experte tonge, a quicke memozie, a clere bnderstandrige, great science, profunde eloquence, or a swete fiple, if with all these graces pe haue a wycked will? Wherfore wyl wyle men haue their wordes fo Diftincte & moderate, if their wordes be lyghte And to thentente that it houlde not feme to you that I fpeate of pleafure . I well bernge to you an antike lawe of Rome. In the . bit. table of the lawes of our fathers was written these woz= des: We commaunde that a moze greuous chasty semente be apuen to the wyle man for a lyahte dede done openlye, than to a fecrete murderer. Diuft lawe and fuft men that orderned it. for the fymple labourer fleethe but one with his knyfe in his angre, but he p is wife fleethe many with the cupil example of his lyuinge . Curioufly I have regarded, that Rome begynneth to beclyne, wha our fenate fayllethe of meke and wyle fenatours, and multyplyethe with these serpetines. The holy senate was adorned with olde prudent perfons, And not withoute teares, I fage at this houre it is full of langlers and lyers. Auncientely in the scoles of Brece was taughte onlye wordes , leaurnge the werkes : and than in Rome was taught to do werkes and leave wordes . But nowe it is contrarge, for nowe in grece the lyers and langlers are banyfhed, and bath lent them to Rome : and Rome hathe banyfhed and fente the good wyle men in to Grece : and in this maner I delyze tather to be bany hed into Grece with wyle men, than to abyde in Rome with fooles. To the prayle of a good man (I sweare to you my frendes) that whyles I was yonge, I fame in the fenate the philosopher Crisippus (broughte by with good Traian) (peake oftentymes: and he was so sweete in his wordes, that many tymes he was harde moze than. iii. houres together: Ind he neuer fpake wozd but it was of eternal memozy, And whan foo euer he wet D.iii. aut

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fyteth it you out of the fenate, I never faw hym do bede wherby he deferued to have greuous pepn. Certainly it was a meruaplous thinge to le a here the estimation of his eloquence, a the infamic of his person. All Rome was aballed of his high eloquence: and al Rome and Italy were sclandered ly, and with his wycked werkes. The prosperite of Rome dured life, by CCC. pere. And fo longe Rome was Rome as it had fim- the im plicitie in wordes, and grauitie in workes. One thynge A chall thew you, which is great confusion to them alvue, thong and great admyzation of them that be deed, that of all the electio auncient men I neuer redde a lyght word that they fpake, no; an puell dede that they dydde. What thynge was fene than in that glozious worlde, but to reiopce in fo glozious wyle men? And now at this daye the worlde is lo corrupted, bycaufe there is fo many pong corrupt, furely I have areatter enuic of their dedes than of our writynaes.

Their fewe wordes and good werkes have lefte be erample of greate adinguation. And the wyle men of this tyme thus, teache bs openly, and write by fecretely doctrines of par-Dition. Than by this that I have faybe, and by other eramples that I shall say, ye maye knowe, what I meane. mhan the realme of Acare submytted his perillous hoze nes and his proude heed to the fwete obeyfance of the ems pire, they drewe them to this condition, that they wolde have benne the hooftes of the garnylons of all Alie, and not disciples of the ozatours of Rome. At that seson there was in Rome a great lorde ambastadour of Acape, temperatein wordes, and honeste of lyunge, with a whyte heed: He was enquired of the senate, why he was so cruel to leade into his countrey for men of warre poore and conetous fquiers, and leaue wyle men of greatte harte. De with gi aunswered with suche loue as he had to his countrep, and with suche gravitie as longed to suche a person, and also with

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he de: with suche hardynesse as his office required. D fathers conscriptes, Dhappy people, It is. ii. daves syth I pete nce, a anythynge, and. ii. dapes fythe Allept, curfynge the fa= of his tall bestennes of fortune, that bath brought me into Itadered Ir, and frahringe bito the goddis that kepethe me in this dured life, bycause my spirite is betwene the harde anuelde and d fim= the importunate hammer, whereas I fe all is harde as bynge the anucloe, wheron the hammer often ftrethe. The alpue, thonge moste pervilous amonge all perviles is to make til the election : ve constravne me to chose, and myne buderstan= pake, dynge can not attayne therto: and the goddes doo not If I leade garplones s fene hewe me what I have to chofe. pious of menne of armes, it thall be very enorfulle to the famy= lies: pf I bayinge advocates, it thall be perplous for the haue common welth. Sozowfull that I am, what shall I do? Th heur and buhapppe realme, that abroeth for theym, and recruell that commaundeth them . Than fothe it is tome thus, I determene me to leade them that fall wafte our goodes, and spende them, rather than they that soulde corrupte and breake our customes. for a legion and an army by necessitie may put to affliction and lozowe onely apeople: But an oratour or an advocate by his malyce may corrupte a hole realme. Than faybe the emperour to thefe wyfe men: frendes howe greatte is the credence of ignozant people, and loffe of lerned men: Wherfoze full they of Acape rather grue meate to pooze fowdpars men of armes, than to have for their neyabbours oratours and wyle speakynge aduocates! So whan this communication of the emperour was ended, the. b. greatte mapfters wente away with greatte fhame, and the. ir. other tarped te. De with great feare. In all this while it paffed not two mop, and nethes after, that the prince Comode was come from his d alfo hopces, where as he hadde lerned the doctrine offuchrine DP

of breftes. Also he was but of tender age, and not of great belycate biderstanding. This prince Comode was borne in Rome on the mounte Cellio, and nourished at the gate of Postic. He was more welbeloued of Faustina his mother, then hated of Parcus Aurelius his father. And to speake with all due honour amonge theym, the mother helde her for certaine to be the childes mother: and the childe according to his customes was moche lyke his mother: and the father was in doubte, whether he were his sonne, bycause he resembled but lyttell in bertues to the father.

Dowe the emperour reasoned with the maysters that syulde lerne his sonne.ca.biii.

L these matters beinge paste, the good emperour for to esteme the thynge that he hadde done, and to pouruep for that he had to do, he called asyde the nyne wyse men and sayde to them, There is greatte same in Rome of that

I have done in thempire, to do suche dilipgence as to dylcouer all the wpse men, and of the curiositie that I have
shewed as in certagnings of the beste. If of trouthe pelic
wyse, ye can not be sclaundered of any things. The an
nogance of yll things cometh of wysedome and vertue,
but the admitation of good things procedethe of smalle
binderstondings or lesse experience. The wyse person wys
suffre none admitation. To shewe at the friste bront mocion in every things, sheweth to be constant in nothings
I have made strayt examination among you, for so ough
suche to passe as shulde be admitted to strayte amityes.
As amities is wery in three dayes, and ever have I sens
and proved by experience, that frendes lyghtlye taken,

are I aunc bycar and r ture hpm Son the fr bpna The well bpm: for al what itisa er he t erami bosse plltat ofthe ons, f same. that b that fr that th **fation b**han tongu fre tra their fo goodr the m

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hadde hadde o do, he apde to of that to dyfall have he pe be the anbertue, fimalle on wyl

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are lyahtely lefte agayne. I chaunced in cumpanye of an auncient Romagne, whiche was all whyte for aege: and bycaule he merited it, I called hym father, and he for loue and nurture called me sonne: the whiche in case of aduen ture enquered many thynges of me, but I wolde make hom none aunswere. Than he sapde these wordes to me: Son beholde. In the lawe of frenothyp it is written, that the frende in all thynges trusteth to his frend. first regar= bynge who is his frende. Surely this councel was good. The curious man of armes (if he well bre a horse) first he well le hom renne and affaped, og he speake of the sale of bym: if he please bym not, thoughe he myghte haue bym for a leffe price, he will not have hym: pf he pleafe hym, what so ever the price is set, he will not leave him. Than it is a lefull thrnge, that the beafte be exampned and felte er he be had into the stable. In lyke wyle a man chulde be exampned, et he be recepued in toamitie. And of the hosse that eateth but hey, strawe, and otes, be lefte for one yll tatche, much moze the frende, whiche is the intestyne of the harte, and oughte to kepe our fecretes and affectyons, for dyners fautes ought not to be recepued in to the fame. There was a philosopher named Arispo, the frate that was in the tyme of Silla and Marius, who fayde, that frendes ought to be lyke good horles: That is to lay, that they ought to have a lyttell heed by humble conver= fation: quicke of herynge, to the entent that they be redy whan they are called: a forte mouth, to thende that they? tongue be temperate: The houe of the fote harde, to fuf= fre trauaple: and they; handes open to doo good dedes: their fete fure to perfeuer in amptie: a baye colour foz his good renowne: And fynally the holy retournethe, that is the manuall frende: and therto is toyned these wordes: That is, that he be without curbes or byttes: and that he mape

mape go where as any fatall destenyes tourneth the bit bell and repne of fortune. The goddes bnderftande me, though that men can not atterne therto or compute it. Be= tournynge than to the purpole, I will pe knowe, bycaule I have taken you for frendes, not to putte you awaye at length. And though that cherptrees produceth their floures in februarie, we abrde not to have the cheries but in Mare. frendes ought to be as molberies, that in Cuche tyme producethe their beries, whiche is they fruite, that they feare not the froftes of Dave, as the bynes boo: no; the mpftes of Dctobze, as the peche, and quinces do. I well not that they come whan the profperite is good, and go away whan the fortune is nought. for that is no pointe of true frendes. As the lyes of wynes caufethe dios Barbes to bompt in the tauernes, lyke wife aduerlitte Dita ueth away faynt frendes out of the house, bycause the set uice is not acceptable, without the wyl be knowen of him that bothe it. Than holde you fure of my contentation, fythe that I have it of your warkes. I come nowe to the effecte of out pourpole. I haue taken you for to be mapfters of this chylde: and regarde that I have taken you fewe amonge many, to thende that my fonne fhulo be noted amonge fewe . Dis nurles at the gate of Boffie baue avuen hom two peres fucke of they mylke, and his mother faustyne bath ayuen hym other two peres to sporte bpm in the Palars, And I like a good father will apue hpm. rr. peres of chaftifement . It foze bifpleafethe faufine his mother to leave hom fo fone, and I am fogy that I toke hom fo late. It is no meruarle, for thefe womenne with they; lyghtnes, and thefe chylogen with they; fmalle knowlege occupte them felfe in thinges prefent: But woz thy typle men ought to thynke on that is palled, and allo to orderne for that that is prefent, and with great fludy to

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proupbe for the tyme to come. I thynke on euery bape in the pere, and of the day, that the goddes have apuch me, and of the day that I grue buto pou. The goddes to me and I to you boo grue hym mostalle to be as a man, and than you to me and I to god bo render hym immortall to be wife. What wille pe that I fave moze? god hath made hym man amonge men by the foule: and Thaue engendzed hym a beafte amonge beaftes by the fiche, pe fhall make hym a god amonge goddis by fhape. Toemaunde of you a thynge, whiche is, I haue not gpuen to my chyloe but mostalle fleffhe, wherwith he hall take an ende of his lyfe: but pe fhall que bym Doctrine, wher with his memozye fhall neuer periffe. If his pouthe knew the weke and faynte flefhe that I have apuen bom. and that his bulle buderstandpinge mave reache to the wifebome that pe mape gpue hym, he wolde calle you fa= thers, and me an pl ftepfather. And though he fap not fo. pet I confesse it, that is, that the naturall fathers of the flethe are ftenfathers of noblenes, fythe that we apue the naturalitie of them fubiecte to fo many mutabilities, and bonde and captine to fo many miferies . for certapne pe hall be fufte fathers to hym, pfas nowe pe canne enable his fleffhe in good custommes, and to byrnge his binder flandynge to be occupied with high sciences. And spis, re= pute it not smalle, that I commptte to your charge and arbytrement, that thyinge whiche princis oughte most to tegarde, that is, to fe to whom they commytte the nouryfinge of their chylozene . To be mapfters of princis in erthe is to haue the offece of p goddes that ben in heuen. for they gouern him that hath cure to gouerne bs: They endoctryne hym that hulde teache bs, they hewe buto hym, that ought to hewe bs : Challife hym that oughte to chastile bs: and fynally they commaunde one, the whi C.ii. che

che afterwarde alone mape commaunde all the worlde. What wil ve that I that fay moze: for certaine they that have the charge of a prince, be the governall of the Chyp. The flanderde of an army, the gouernance of people, the aurde of waves, the Chylde of kpinges, the treasure of all, bycaule they have amonge their handes hym that after= warde oughte to gouerne all the world. And furthermore to thentente that pe have hom in more estimation, I woll tell you, that in ayurnge my sonne buto you, I do apue you moze than if I had ayuen you a realme. The pure & clene lyupnge of the sonne alpue, is the glozious fame of his father that is deade. for of hom, that the conne trus Aethe in his lyfe, dependethe the renowme of the father Thus have pe hadde the goddis atte that is deade. welle, and the bapttel destenges of foatune happy to pou, as buto this houre pe have not watched with chyloren of Araungers. Fro hensforthe wake ve with the prince, whis che is the profite of all other. And take good hede mp fredes, that there is areatter difference in baynaping uppe of princis chyloren, thanne to teache your boyes of the common people. The molte parte of theym, that come to scholes, come for to lerne to speake, but I Delpuered not imp fon Comode to you to lerne hom to fpeke many wordes, but for to fette him in the way to do good dedes. The glorge ot folythe fathers is to fe they; chylozen bainquithe other in disputping: but mp glozie and top is to se mp sonne sutmounte other in bertue : bycaufe the glozie of the Grekes was to speake moche and to bo lyttell, and the gloppe of the Romannes is to doo moche and to speake but lyttel.

Dowe the maylers of princis oughte to kepe them from vices Capitulo. ix.

mpna which cheis and ti put in caufe thyna uenab playin perto first th bridel, theo, f that ca not to lapnei Der bp that he bles an The at the emp bicious euer it ! the whi pou mp

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Arcus Aurelius folowynge his pourpole, iopned to his fozelayde wozdes, and layde: Regarde well my frendes, and fozget not, that I trust you in myne honour, who am my lonnes father, and of the studye of Comode my lonne, and of the slozie of Rome

my natural countrey, And of the folace and reft of Kome, whiche is my lublect: Of the governaunce of Italy, whiche is your countrepe: and aboue all thynges of the peace and tranquillitie of our comon welthe . Than he that is put in truste with suche administration of other, bathe no Rowe lette be come to moze particular caufe to flepe. thynges. Regarde as nowe, what thynge is moofe con= uenable for my fonne, whiche as a yonge colte wolde goo play in the grene medowes, and noyfome thall be the ke= per to hym, a a thynge paynful to kepe hym therfro. The first thyrae, wherof I pray you, is to apue hym a stronge bribel, and a fharpe bytte, to thentente that he be wel mot thed, to that none take hom with lyes. The greatteft faut that can be in men of honeftie, is to spare the trouthe, and not to be beritable: Ind the greattefte bilange in a bil= lapne is to be apuen in largelle of lpes . Sette good ozder bppon hym. Take hede to his handes, to the entente that he accustome bym not to bemaunde to play at the tables and dyce with suche as be lofte and noughte.

The gretteste token that a prince woll lose and distroye the empire, is whan in his yonge age he is knowen to be bicious in playe. The playe is suche a vice, that who soo euer it bytethe, hit is lyke the bytynge of a madde dogge, the whiche rage endureth buto deathe. I recommende to you my chylde, though he be yonge, make hym sad and mo detate. Certaynly it is not so great a glorye buto a prynce

Citt. to

to have the crowne on his beed, not a charn of gold about his fhulders, not the fcepter in his hande, not the greatte company and garde that he hath about hym, as to thewe fabneffe from his youthe . The open honeftie fuppliethe many fautes and Debilities. Spare not to calle on hym a trouthe Aronge charne, and to tre hum falte, that he go not to be lotes and banities. for an effeminate person neuer hathe Intrite to any hye or noble bedes. I am greately fatisfied Inth that the techer of Acro fand to his Disciple: Though I woft that god wolde pardone me, and that men knewe no myffe of me, for the bilanve of the flefte, I wolde not funne in the flefhe. Surely they were good wordes, and pll borne away of Acro. Let not yet go the reyne. for pt he fe the ponge mates, he wyl nergh oz bear if he fe tyme. The byce of the fleffhe in all tymes, in all ages, and in al effates holdeth his feafon or course, if it paffe not in the arene age of chylbehoode, castynge out the reyne of reas fon, a ftryken with the fourtes of the fleshe, and blowing with the trompe of fenfualitie: Takpnae the baibell in the tethe with a furious well, rennynge through mountagns and woodes after the mare: In leaupnge her goinge but foftely, and in the ouertakyinge moche leffe. And than afterward being therin delpherat, body remanneth impos tent, the biderstandpince acloved and blynded, the reason troubled, the good name loft, and pet neuertheles at the lafte the flefhe remayneth flefhe. What remedy for this! I fynde none other but that a greatte quicke fyze couered and laben with erth bieth. And whan the bittous man is beed, an Lapde in his grave, he maketh an ende and may neuer cop recte hym felfe. Wherfore I aduple pou to grue no place itbe not to this ponge chylbe to be bicious . And in the chastifying Second of hom, apue no respete, thoughe he be ponge, and my hede, fo childe, and welloued and chereffed with his mother, and grue hpu though

though a ftranc piteis t med ha nutte ot nut tree harde n a pptcfu ther a p lerneb. aus kin his real me con be fozat that be r to be fo: were go reasone. and paff **b**ho tha luffered ought to in bertu and the t cultie w their Del maunde tuoc

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though he be the only heire of thempire. with chylozen of a ftranger crueltie is tiranny, but with a mans own child eme pite is the occasion of his loffe in time to come . It is the ethe wed by by trees, howe we ought to northe our childre. Df om a trouthe the cheftain trees baying foath the foft fwete cheftnutte out of the harpe prickinge a bard bulke: And on the athe nut trees amonge the [wete fofte leaves, is nourifhed the barbe nutte. Applieng this to our purpole, we have fene a pyteful father, bringe forthe a cruell fon, and a cruel father a piteful fonne. De that was lerned amonge all other lerned, and renoumed amonge al other renoumed. Lyque aus king of the Lacedemontens, in giuinge his lawes in his realme, I remembre to haue red therin thefe wordes: pine. men that al thinge no in be forgiuen to them that be olde and broken: and to them n the that be ponge and lufty, to diffimule for a tyme: a nothing rea: to be forgiven to bery ponge chylozen. In good foth thefe wing were good wordes fpoken of fuche a perfone, and femeth n the reasone. for it is reason that the hors that bathe rounne apns and paffed his course of carriage, houlde refte bym. Ind e but who that bath palled rightoulely, it is Justice that he be maffuffered in refte. And the chyloc that will paffe reasonne. mpo= ought to be reformed. Caule hym to be always occupied eason in hertuous actes. for if the buder andpinge be bulled. at the and the bodye flouthfull in fuche aege, with greatte diffithis! cultie welle they drawe to thynges that be flraunge to uered their pelectations, bycaufe that the lyahteneffe is in the an is beed, and reasonne buder the eyes. Dis pouthe wylle bet cop maunde you fome recreation, whiche pe fall confider, fo place it be not often noz to feldome. frifte that it be by reafone: ilpng Secondely that they be taken in noble erercyles . Cake D mp hede, for I apue not my fonne buto pou, that re foulde r,and grue hom recreation, but onely for to teache hom. ough

The

The henne hauvnge her egges bnder her wynges, in that feafon goth not abzode in the pardes, and though the egges be not her owne, pet the hatchethe theym, as if they were her owne. for this cause at this tyme in Rome of a C. disciples. lerre. cometh forth without doctrone, for it their marfters walt two houres of doctrine with the, they lefe with the.rr houres in mockery . And therofit is, that of the smal grautte of the mapfter, springeth great bolones and lettell fhame in the disciple . Beleue me frendes, that the teachers to princes, and mapflers to disciples, pro fit moze in one daye with good examples, than in a yete with many leffons. Dy fonne fernge you drawe to ber tues, well drawe to the same, if he se you ftudie, he welle Audy, if he se you peasible, he woll be Avil: he seinge pou temperate in fedinge, well eate but lettel: feing you fam fafte, he wyll feare you, seinge you restefull, he wyll reste, and if ye do contrary, he will do contrarge. This furelye is true, for the auncient men onely with the eurl that they fe, epther do they corrupte their bodies, or sclaunder their owne fugementes, as chylozen do, that can fay nothynge but that they here: noz do nothpinge but that they fe. I wil alfo that the prince my fonne lerne the. bit. artes lyberall. for I have taken many of you, to thentent that ye foulde teache hom moche. Ind if at the lafte we fhulde be fozow full, bycaufe he hath not lerned all, we shal not be force, if he knowe moche, not thynke his tyme yll fpent, not be be apled, in faying, that he knoweth inough, of that fo pog a chyloe fhulde haue to gouerne and rule thempire. A be ep philosopher after the lawe of lygnage oughte to hau speche at place and tyme conveniente, to frat in the feld and to fpeake in the fenate. If my owne remembrance be aple me not, amonge mpn antiquities I have brought & frome out of Grece, the whiche Dithagozas p philosopher belde

belbe bigot beout know bautel isago is the as the breftes fathers the frest tapne terned ftes, as our for by they worlde holde 3 campe, bis pen mour, b excuses betall a (hozte. ; tep2oue in a (ho; can not and dell bs, that do mani

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helpe at the gates of his schole, wherin was written with his owne handes thefe wordes: De that knoweth not that e ea: be ought to know, is a brute beaft amonge men : De that knoweth no more than he hath nede of, is a man amonge brute beaftes : De that knoweth all that may be knowen. for if is a god amonge men. O moofte highe wordes, Glorious is the hande that wrote them, the whiche not at the gates, as they were than oughte to be written, but within mens breftes they fulde to be paynted and grauen. Dur forefathers toke the lafte fentence of this phylosopher, and the fyilte rebuke abydeth to be they; last chylozen. for cer tarne amonge the Grekes and Lacedemoniens was at= terned as moche fame by they philosophers and conquefes, as by they? writinges, which they have lefte bs. And our former emperours gatte no leffe loue in they empire by they? profounde eloquence, thanne they feared all the worlde by they noble triumphes. for a profe wherof bebolde Julius Cefar, whiche beinge in the myddell of his campe, with his lyfte hande wolde holde his speare, and bis penne in his right hande . Ae he neuer lefte of his ar= mour, but forthewith he toke his bokes. we must not lave excuses, sayinge with them that be ignorance, that the ly= berall artes are to hee, and the tyme that we have berpe sporte. for certapne the diligence of men in tymes pafte, teproueth our flouth at this day. One thring I do fe, that in a sporte whyle we lerne al pil, but in a longe season we can not lerne goodneffe. Wyll pe fe, what is our fortunes and destenves, and in what thought the goddes doo kepe bs, that for to bo one good dede we lacke tyme, and for to do many firewde tournes we have to moche tyme . I wyl far no moze, but that I wolde my chylde shulde be noutithed in suche wife, that be thoulde ternethe feare of god, the science of philosophers, the vertues of aunciente Romarnes,

mayns, the quietnes of you his maysters, and the goodnesse of all them that be good, as he hath taken of me to
be the heire of the empire. I protest to the immortal goddis, to whom I trust for to go: and protest to the high capitoll, where my bones shall be brent, that neyther Kome
now in my lyse, nor the heuens in tyme to come shal curse
me after my death, if by yll lyuinge my sonne should elese
the common welth, if by your small chastisemente ye shall
be cause of the losse of the empire.

Thow themperour Marcus nourifhed the painceffes his doughters. Cap.r.

Arcus Aurelius the emperour had but two fonnes, that is to witte, the parnee Comode and Cleristime: He hadde foure doughters by faustyne his wyfe legittimate and heyers of thempyze. This emperour was exce-

byng diligent for to northe his daughters. As soone as any of they were borne, forthwith they were put to nurse into some seems with oute Rome: He wolde never suffre anye of his chyldren, sonnes nor doughters, to be northed within the walles of Rome: Por consente, that they shulde sucke the brestes of delicate women. He hated delycate and gay nurses, and they that were laborous homely and holsome he loued, A to them and none other he betoke his chyldren to nouryshe, and he wolde neuer agree, that they shoulde be brought home to his house.

The was wonte to save in his sporturge: There was

De was wonte to save in his sportynge: I have more aboo to contente these nourisses, than to mary my boughs ters. Homer sheweth, that in Grece there died Arthemio, that was kynge of Argine withoute anye sonne to inherete: and the nurse that hadde nouryshed hym, with all

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her myabt demaunded the realme for a fon of hers . whiche habbe fucked of the fame mylke that the faybe kyinge had done, allegringe, that firth they were bothe noury (hed togyder, a sucked one mylke, that they bothe Gulde enhes rite one realme. This farde homer to reproue the nourp= ces of Grece, whiche toke moze prefumption for nourpf= Oprice of pancis, than quenes byd in bearinge of them. Therfore this noble Marcus Aurelius emperour, wolde not that his doughters alonely foulde fucke groffe and tube mylke, but he wolde not agree, that any reuerence bonout og feruice fhulbe be bone bnto them, as it belon= arth to the chylozen of fo hyah princis to be bone, and as the cultome is to be doone. On a day as the larde empe= rour was at supper, a foole named Galindo, at whose woz bes the emperour often toke pleafure, fand, Spr perfterbave I came from Salon, and fro the gate of Hoftie, and there I fawe the emperours children go like labourers, and I fe here in thy hous labourers chylozen go lyke em= perours: Telle me, why do pe distimule as a wyle man, for I that am but a foole bnderftandeth bit not. The emperour aunswered : D Galpndo, bycause that pet at this tyme Rome is not Rome, all thoughe thosoughe all the worlde hit be renowmed Rome. In my felfe I fonde farre more assuraunce, that my chylogen begynne lyke pooze labourers, and ende as tyche emperours, thanne to begynne as ryche emperours, and ende as pooze fqui: ers. Doeft thou not knowe why Italy is nowe loft. They wolde have they chylden to be wantonly and delicately nourpfifed, and well not fuffre them to lyue in trauapl, and to leave they; heires pooze and nedpe, and them felfe to ende in greatte perpll. This answere was fo excellent in fame, that it was ever taken for a proverbe in Kome. whan this emperours doughters were of two yere olde, f.ii. incon=

incontinent he prouided women and marftreffes for to tes che theym. Sertus Cheronenfe faythe, that he ferched a= monge the auncent matrones of Rome, whiche were cleaneft of lyfe, moofte eftemed of good fame, of nobleneffe of bloudde, of fadde witte, and that had ben moofte bled in bringing by of princis chiloren. This emperour was fo thoughtefull in the orderinge and teachinge of his chil= oren, that he wolde have no woman, but if the were of. I. pere of age at the leafte, and r. pere a widowe, and that the habbe nourifled a . C.chylbren boughters of fenatours: Imagining that the that had medled info many thynges of other mens, Quide not be ignorant in her owne. After that he hadde proupded these mapstresses, he caused his doughters to be brought to there houses, and there gaue them their charge. And fro the birth of any of his bough= ters he wold never confent, that they shuld come in to his palays, tyll they (bulde have bulbandes. It chanced that faustine the empresse chribed a boughter, and the beinge certificd, that it was like her, and bery faire, moued with a fofte herte of womanheed, and with a motherly harte, prayed themperour, that the farbe childe myaht be norithed in her prefence, fith euery man fayde the chylde was so farre and so like buto them. The emperour aunswered and lapde: fauftyne for those thynges that all other haue fapte to pou, bothe it befeme pou to bemaunde this of me? But I that have red in this cafe, and mother cafes have fene, in no maner ought to condifcende therto. Do pou not knowe, that the tyme that the boughter is nouryfhed in the house, the father is charged with thought, the mother with wanto flatteringes, enup in the betherne, boldnes in the doughter, and foly in the nouryce. I wold wit of you, if the were nourythed in the houle: what profytteth it, if her mayftres teache ber fabbeneffe and boneftie with

with ! mork ferue want folow the w Mar dushe but ch well, fo wh spleas iappn 1 wol in mp mapft 10, 7 D it be n postut 7 com This nitie a ftine a Kome.



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with her wordes : and we entice her to lewbenes with our workes and dedes : what profiteth it, if the doughter de= ferue chaftifement, that the mother flatter and make her wanton ! Doze reason it were that your boughter Gulde folowe the good doinges of you that are her mother, than the wordes of the fraunge wydowe that is her mayfres. Marke well fauftyne, if pe ought to reiopce at her chyl: dyshe toys. Remebre that the plefure of yong children, is but chylorfhe and trifles. But if you nouryfhe them not well, as the pleasures were toyful whan they were younge, fo whan they be olde to reframe them thall be greatter di= spleasure. Therfore if you be bertuous, withdrawe they? tappinge trifles as nowe, for them that hall be bertuous. I will tell you one thringe. I wold rather my doughters in mpn absence shulde be disciples to bertues, than to be mapftreffes in lewbeneffe in my prefence. And fytheit is fo. I delire you, require it not of me. and I delire you that it be not foo . Jam importune on you, that pe be not importunate on me. I pray you, that you pray not me. Drels I commaunde you, that you demaunde it no moze of me. This harde answere of the father ceassed the importunitie and pitiefulle requeste of the mother. Thus fau= fline all fearefulle, seinge the father within the walles of Kome, durfte not go fee her doughter without, but as pil= ucly as the myght.

Dowe Marcus themperour dyd chofe and proucd his fonnes in lawe. Cap.ri.



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The wife as Marcus Aur. the emperour furmounted in vertues al mortall meny died, fo for certagne in mariage of his doughters he femed to be kin to the goddes, y ever lyve: 4 by

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the grace and gyfte of god, or by his fortune, he was as happy in bertuous formes in lawe, as gretly infortunate of dychonest doughters. After the dethe of the good olde man, with the smalle thoughte of the prince his sonne in his governance, and bugoodly fame of his boughters in thep: lyuinge, it femed to have made an ende of the glorious memorie of the father, but if it were by the fouerayne goodnes of his fonnes in lawe, that he had chofe by his lyfe tyme. It is dayly sene, that the losse of the father by eupli chyloeine, is wonne by bertuous fonnes in lawe. Than Darcus Aurelius confideringe hulbandes for his doughters, toke not of dyners that the banitye of the worlde offered hun : but of a fewe that of manye folkes were estemed to be of good behauour, and that to his fempnge were fuche in bede: And as in mariages al the er= couris to coucte goodes that be in the purle, and not to exampne the person that is broughte to the house, De regardynge this, maried not his doughters to ftrange hinacs, but to naturall borne fenatours, and not to fuche as discended fro high lygnage, as were the Sipions, fabricions, and Corquates: but to luch that with their bertues repled newely good lyanages: Roz be maried them not to suche as were presumptuous of the prowes and bedes of theyr predecessours: but to them that resplendythed by the dedes of they: owne persons. Por of trouthe he chose none that were very riche, but suche as were ber= tuous: noz fuche as were foone moued, but fuche as were quiete: not the hyghe mynded: but to the moderate, that were no bofters, but hamefaft : no bablers, but fmal fpes kers: no quarellers, but fuffcers: not to prefumptuous, but to them that were meke, not to halfp men, but to them that were pacient: not to them that were estemed amonge the commons, but buto them that deferued laude amonge myle

mile ! tied n butto Ingo thyno ough Por h his ot perfor gers . goodt fpeakt Inau detern ofmar mpned they ca **Janus** pon a I with a that wi th:owe perour his arn that he was in that he dought hulde h

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wife men. In this maner he trufted no perfon, for he mas tied not his doughters to fuch as were prayled a farre of: but to them that of longe tyme had ben proued nerehand. In good farthe berein his reason was good. for in the thynge that touchethe a mannes honour, he that is wyle ought not to trust in the onely information of strangers: Por he is not wple, that is to hardy to do all thynges by his owne fempinge and opinion. And he is but a symple versone, that wyll do all thynge after the opinion of stranacrs. And in these porntes the emperour Marcus had a good respecte to kepe them : In walkynge good reft, In speakynge great cloquence, in eatynge good temperance: In auns werpinge greate subtiltie: In his fentences and betermynations great grauitie. Ind therfoze in this cafe of mariage he was ful of grauitie tpl'he was therin beter= mpned. And this only came not of hym, but of other, wha they came to pray hym . It befell that in a feast of the god Janus, the emperour goynge to the campe of Mars bp= pon a lufty hors frees and flyngynge, he mette fo rubely with a trupettour, that coursed as a knyght bpon a hors, that with the ftroke of metyng the trumpetour was ouer thiowen with his house, so that he was flanne, and themperours horse legge broken, and his owne fote hurte, and his arme out of topnte. So greately encreaced his hurte, that he was in perplle, Italye in heuynes, and all Rome was in doubte of his lyfe. And bycause a fewe dayes afoze that he had communication of a mariage for his thyrde doughter, named Matrina, for the Determination that he thuide have made the fame day, greate fuite was made to hym. But for the greate pepn of his arme, and the bloude that was congeled in his bodye, and the anguyifhe that was at his harte, as for the demaunde that was offered hym, be deferred the aunswere tylle an other dage. The which

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inge inge wyle whiche dave commen, in open presence he sappe in this manier.

T What the emperour Marcus lapde to the father of a yonge man that wolde marre one of his boughters. Capt.rii.



ftentimes Thave fene in other, and have pro ued by experience, that the smalle considerati= on paffed, and the great acceleration in bufy= nelles nowe prefent, maketh great inconvent= ences in time to come, onles that at that point '

the thrnge be commetted to the bertue of some wefe perfone, rather than to his owne fole opinion . Reuer the les in the case of mariage though the father be wife, pet with out the opinion of an other he ought not to determen him lyaht:lyfo: enuyous fortune, thoughe the thewe her felfe sombhat frowarde in al thynges, yet in this case of mariage, the ouerthroweth more than in al the other . De that well speake of mariage, oughte to entre into his owne fecretenes, and to thynke profoundly theron, as of a thinge that al his welthe lyethe in, his credence, his lyfe, his hos nour, his good fame, the refte of his owne personne, and his flefte, whiche is his chylde. I am of opinion, that if all wife men were molten in a fournayes, they coude not gruc one good counfell to make a mariage: and wolde re that I, whiche am simple, shulde do it leahtly by my felf? Truely therin behoueth type and fad counfell. for ones fallen in to the perpli therof, none may have remedy withoute greatter perplle. The renowmed Marcus Portius, whose lyuynge was a myrrour in his dayes, and his worbes and councels remarne for a remembrance, fard openlowpinge ly in the fenate: D noble fathers and happy people, by the manp ha Decrees

Decte thati 15, pe thes, matie tes of mong fodavi Dersta counti and to ages, the me and an ben bp thy of o opinion one opt foz all t Mp frê in lawe, the com in fo pll not amo philolog amonge that at t bayne th bempne alowe is folpe. Th Decrees openly proclaymed in places accustomed. I know

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that in a counfel and fenate pe ordepned thre thinges, that 15, pe budertoke to make a newe warre agapufte the Dar= thes, to continue the enmitte agaynft the Deniens, and to matie. b. hundred matrones of Rome, to. b. C. knyah= tes of Mauritanie. Ind certaynely am abafhed, that a= monge wyle men lo hygh affartes flulde be lo foone and fodaynely concluded and determined. To fatiffie myn bn= berstandpinge, and for the good wille that I owe to the ulv= countrep. I chall save one worde, that is, to bearn warre ent= and to purfue hatred and pll woll, and to conclude marioint ! aces, In thefe caufes a man ought to afke councell of all the men of the worlde, and al the goddis ought to correcte and amende it, And.r. A. countaplynges wolde be hol= ben bpon eche of thele thynges. Thele wordes were woz bim thy of areat recommendation. for one thynge by dyuers felfe opinions ought to be determpned: But many thinges by one opinion oughte not to be determined. And if this be that for all thinges, it ferueth then most specially in mariages. De fredes, ve far, that he that offreth him to be my sonne inge in lawe, is greatly delyred loued and wel named amonge s hos the common people. To fell fuche marchandyle, fet it not in fo yll a thewe. The credence of an boneft manne lyeth nat if not amonge the common boyce of the people, but amonge enot philosophers: not amonge many, but amonge fewe: not De ve amonge howe many, but what they be ve know your felfe felf! that at this houre all that the commons thynke is but a ones barne thringe: that they prayle is falle: that they conpith: bempne is good, that they approue, is nought, that they tius, alowe is hamefull: and finally al that they laude, is but m01folpe. They praylinge beginneth with lyghtnes, their fopenlowpinge without ozder, and it endeth with furie . D how pthe many have I fene in Italye lyke the lies of wyne cast out

of the lenate, and after put as fore bondes of tauernes in Rome, by whole opinions the comon welth is gouerned, and with great lyghtnes men put downe, and with no les lyghtnes exalted agarne . Beholde bere, that the workes of the people are holden in mockage with wyle men: and that that is agreed amonge theym, is chemed but for ba= nities with wife men: for that that is meale with philoso phers, is caten but for branne and chaf with symple folk: and contrarge wife the meale of the fymple, is but branne a chaffe amonge wife men : Dfall that our predeceffours have lyfted, in thele dayes the chyloren of banytye worke thereafter, for they will be befreed, and hate to be hated. All fuche holdeth a generall rule, that every man that de= freeth to be beloued of every man openlye, can not escape fro dyucts fecrete fautes. Shall I tel pou who is belt be= loued nowe adapes : Then harken to me, and I wpl tell you, as moch as it toucheth, to whom it may touch, hurte who it map burte, fele it who that may fele it. The people loueth hym, that can diffimule with them, that be nought, and enuious of theym that be good, and fuche as fauout lyers and fetteth trouth afpde, and fuche as accompanieth with mankyllers and murtherers, and to be ferued of thenes, and fauoureth quarellers, and purfueth fuche as be pealible, delpucrethe offenders, and fleethe innocentes, renometh them that be Mamefull, and Chameth them that be of good fame: finally he his moft fet by, putteth them that be good fro hym, and is the most bayne among them that be bayne. Certaynely there is greate suspection to fet hym amonge wyle men, that is allowed of all foles. And the reason therof is, that the commons lyghtly love none but men that with malyce refrayneth them that be bertuous, and letteth the rayne flyppe to them that be bicious. Trucky wyle men have hym as suspect that the commons Delire,

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Defre, whiche wyl not be despleased with his plooinges. Dhowe often tymes both the goddis permytte the ambicious man in honours, that procureth to do yll many dais without Justice, and both not beholde the sodayne hole loss thereof with shame. Than take this worde of me, that in the multitude of men there are fewe to be prayled, and many to be represed.

Dowe a son in lawe oughte to be wel examined er he be accepted to his purpose.ca. riii.

Dwe to come to our particular purpole, ye amonge you do prayle this yonge man, and ye his werkes be as your wordes, ye shoulde not onely say, that he hath merited to be my sonne in lawe, but rather meriteth to be onelye inhe-

citour of the hole empire. And therfore I wolde wette of pou, wherof you can praise this your kynseman, that ther be no contrarytie betwene his werkes and your wordes. If he be rufticall, it abateth hym fore : if he be of hyghe blode, he well be prefumptuous : if he be tyche, he welle anne hym to vicioulnes: if he be poze, he wyl be couetous: if he be valiant, he wyll be ouerbolde : pf he be a coward be is Defamed : if be be a greate fpeaker, be fhall be a lyer: if he be to lyttelle a speaker, be shall be noted as bumple: pf he be faire, he wille be coueted : if he be foule, he wille be telous . Than if he be quite of all thefe, I fwere to you that I will anue him my doughter Matrine with all my bart. I do not fay this buto you, bicaufe I suppose any yl in pour konsman: but to thentent that ve hulbe thonke, that I fap it accordynge to my naturalite. And than fythe I far it not agaynft your credence, for the knowelege that pe have of him, miltake not my luspection, fith that I am G.II. hole

hole ignozant of this yonge mans lyuynge. And I wyll not, that re hulde thynke, that the chylde my doughter, that bath ben brought bp in fo great bertu in my palays, shulde be marico to this pong man for the only fame that he hath amonge the people. D howe often haue I fene in our tyme nowe, and have redde of the worlde paffed, the whiche as nowe by commandement of the goddis, at an other tyme by they yll workes have deferued hit, at an o: ther trine by they? forowfull bestenies have permitted it, wenninge for to bringe fonnes in lawe in to there howfe, have brought in a hell : In ftebe of wife and faire boughters, haue recouered adders: In fekynge fonnes, haue founde balilicke ferpentes : In brenge of blouddbe, pop= fon delpuered: In febringe frendes, they have founde ennempes : In Demaundyng honour, hame hath be gruen: peius, of and finally in marienge they chylozen, wenynge to baue of Lypulus lyued merply, the forowfull fathers have had euplie lyfe Caligula a and a wors bethe. And in cafe that fuche ought to be mo: And as I fa ued moze of them that be topous, than they that ben force that helde 1 of them that bene toyous : as well oughte we to approue tes brought the tufte chaftifement of the tufte goddes, by the bniufte All that is a workes bone to tufte men. for he deferueth great chaftife be bynge t ment, that with ferefull hardynes as a foole betermyneth ges between hym felfe in hygh and difficult thinges with fodayn coun belonge con fell. And therfoze my frendes, if ye be bertuous, be not as humapne ig bathed of that that I fage, no; take the examination that be beggled o I make in a flaunder : If I take this younge man to be bogdes in the iny fonne, to be fonne in lawe to fauftyne my wyfe, hul: temperance bande to my doughter Matryne, broder to Comodus the prince, felowe to them of the fenate, hynfman to my kings hym felfe. 3 folke, and loide of my feruantes : It is reason, that fuche a robe oughte well to be regarded, futh that fo many per- hate: Ind on fons muste weare the lyugray therof. The garmente that

fo many p tent them bs, if it be The fonne fleffhe of th thepm: an fong that t toucheth th nes of Ron bone areat med throug ned to they nocentes, t and that it nowe adape amous ozat

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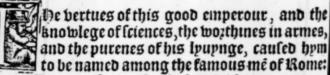
Il fo many perfong must weare, muste be wyfely cut, to cons tent them all. We fe naturally many thynges noyfulle to r, bs,if it be nere bs,and pet not doinageable to bs ferre of. t The fonne with his Chynynge beames bothe parche the n fleishe of the people of Ethiope, breause hit is nere buto theym: and contrary wyle it dooth noo grefe to theyr per-9 n fons that inhabyte in the ende of Europe : foz bycaufe hit toucheth theym a ferre of . There have bene byuers fon= 3: nes of Rome, whiche beynge in fraunge countreys, haue t, e, Done greate profite to the common welthe, and no leffe fa= med throughout the worlde, whiche after they were retur 1ned to they; owne houses, have spylte more bloudde of ine nocentes, than they had done before of the Barbariens. and that it is fothe demaunde of Julius Cefar, of Bom= n: prius, of Sylla, of Marius, of Calius, of Catilina, and of Lypulus, of Octavius, and Marcus Anthonius, of fe Caligula and of Aero, of Othus and Domittanus. and as I fave of foo fmall a nombre of baftarne chyloren that helde Rome, I mave fave of dyuers other tyraunle fes broughte oppe in Italye . Beleue me in one thynge, te All that is agreable to bs abzode, agreethe not to bs pf be byinge them in to the howle. for there goth many thin h ges betwene the entreatinge of a man in wordes, and to n belonge conversant with hym in workes. Lyttell nebeth umapne ignozance for to begyle an other, and pet leffe to te beggled of many an other. with a meke bifage, fwete e wordes in the tongue, good delpberation in the persone, famperance in the worde, every one may begyle an other nowe adapes: and by Meudenes and malyce, is begiled pm felfe. I fay to you, I beinge a yonge man knewe the amous oratour Caurin propole dyuers tymes in the lenate: And on a day he spake for a Komayn matron, which pulde have marged an honest doughter of hers to a may= ffer G.111.

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fter of horfes, by femynge a Romanne, and not bery well appoputed : Ind amonge other wordes he fayde : D no= ble fathers, D happy people, commande not that thynge that afterwarde pe wolde were not commaunded: In pll mariage is lyke as he that fhoteth a pellet of bufte, it hur= teth hym that it toucheth, and blyndethe them that stande nerte . Sothelye thefe were hie wordes, and the compart: fon well binderstonden, conterneth in it fentences of grauitie. It is manyfeft to all men, that an pile fonne in lawe is the Deathe of the wyfe that bath hym, Chame to the fren des that procured it, and at the lafte an pil ende for hom felfe, and for his father that offered it. Thanne by all thefe thringes that I have lapde, pe may binderstonde what I thinke in this mariage. Dis fayinges thus ended, the Se nate was areatly edified therewith, and the knyahtes, kynsfolke to this ponge man, grately abached: and fau ftin the empresse love confused, for by her introduction, the matter was moued, a howe this mariage fayled, the hifto: tiens write not, whom we have followed in this werke.

Dow Darke themperour fauozed al noble exercyles, and hated trewandes and fooles.ca.riii.



The gentylle conversation that he had with everye man, made hym to be renowmed amonge the worthpefte of all and finallie the worlde, the thinge moofte agreable without reprehencion of the greatest, meane, and leaste is, that a loade and paynce of many, to be communicable and conversant with of olde me a many. All the good werkes of good men may be condem-ou . Many

ned wi goodc 13 prap upnge tioniti fecrete, teth it is not fo g and fapi asitisc uerfatio cie, we h beinge u in a Mozi proude a deprined good emp his cultor lo he wold hulders o any thing them that garde was with hom that that c amonge ch with them lowes: Ab

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ned with the pll intentions of them that be plle: But the good condicions have fuch a privilege, that of pl the good 13 prayled, and the good apprough the yll. In a mans ly= upinge there is none fo great a byce, but by good conucrfa tion it is covered and hid: And contrary wife no cryme is fecrete, but with yll conversation, at the tyme that it hur= teth it is more openly knowen. Of two extremities hit is not fo grenous to the common welthe, a man to be weake and faint in fecretenes, a of gentrell conversation absode, as it is of hym that is fecrete, and is rude and of yll conuerfation opely. Dyuers not being of good order a polycie, we have fene coverfant a gret whyle in Kome, only for beinge wel condicioned. And many mo we have fene, that in a sporte whyic after they were put in office, have ben so proude and hafty in they condicions, that they have bene deprined from they offices. And this we fay by cause this good emperour was fo toyous of vilage, foo ampable in his customes, soo lournge in his conversation, that lyaht= ly he wolde cafte his armes aboute the necke and on the hulders of them, and take them by the handes , that had any thunge to doo with him. The posters fhulde not lette them that wolde accompany hym in the palays: noz his garde was not fo hardy to put a backe fuch as wold fpeke with hym in the feldes. In all his aeges he applyed to that that eucry age gave hym by nature: De was a childe amonge children : ponge amonge ponge folkes: worldely with them that were worldly: good felowe with good felowes: A baron among barons: Hardy with hardy men: fall and finallie olde with olde menne. De was wonte to fape, whan any in his presence that were younge and not welle aught in their language, gested at the debilitie of acge, poloe me at the foly of youth : Leave them fith they leve ou . Many tymes of wife yonge men cometh olde foles: and

And of vonce fooles cuftomably cometh wife olde men. Paturalyte at the lafte maketh all thynge in kynde. Is of greatte Debilitie we canne brawe but fmalle ftrengthe, bp our naturalitie we may for a tyme refifte it, but not btterly mayfter it . I am fore abafhed that fome that well be fo lozdely and valiant in bertues, and fo bogh mynded, that they wyll make be beleue, that they lyuinge in the flefbe. & beinge of flelhe, onelp fele not the flelhe. I can not telle, pf nature hath made other of an other nature than 7 am of, og me of an other nature thanne other be, fog I beinge neuer fo fafte inclofed in the fwete convertation of philo: Cophy, yea in the befte tyme, this falle fleffhe wolde calle atte the gate with his noughtve flefbe. The moze that we reple and exalte be with frience and gette lpberties, the more lower we doo putte the fleffbe with ber muferies . Beleue me one thonge, that if a tree beareth not in Dipmetpine his flowers, we hope not to haue the fruite " in baruefte tipe: and a ponge man that hathe not paffed his youthe with yonge people, we have noo hope that he Chulde palle is ace with olde men. And as we may refulte our naturalitie and not cleane to fordoo it, those fathers erre, that are fo extremely affectioned, to haue they chylbren to bearnne as olde men, wher byon it foloweth, that they ende as yonce. This emperour was foo wpfe in all thynges, that amonge them that were merve, he was of great mythe: And in berittes he was bery beritable: In his pastines he was greattely temperate, and a louer of mulike, specially in good boyce and instrumentes, and fooze displeased if he harde any discorde therin . De pals fed most of his youthe in lernyhae of sciences . 300 han he came to mannes flate, he exercised feates of knyabthode: he loued disciplyne and not of adulation. He was apt and happye in armes, but yet in tydinge of hoises he hadde ofte

ofte ton at the to thefe con and pet and acf areat ba of emper his neue gapne, C comeag talp, an handes o ended. 3 with grea the moth cred paifte thefe min and contr Done the fa with force Der in fauc parte then monge the pringes, th to wayllyn this furie o bours of 18 ligence to fi of Kome, at be chastised ple of all the and comma

them for euc

ofte trines vil happe. In his ronge age he belyted to niav at the tennys, and at the cheffe in his acce. De loued not thefe counterfattynge players of farces and mummerics. and pet leffe trewandes that ben naturall fooles, junlers and gelters for pleafure. The players and gefters fuffred great parietic in the empire, accordynge to the divertitie of emperours. Julius Cefar fufteyned theym, Octavian his neue we droue them awaye, Caligula called theym agavne, Cruell Acro banyfhed them, Acrua made theym come agarne, Good Tratan banyfhed them oute of al T= taly. Anthony pius brought them in agepne: And by the handes of this good emperour Marcus Aurclius, they ended. And the occasion was, the Romanns but celebrate with areat ione the. iiii. Dave of Dave the areat feafte of the mother Bereconte, mother of all the goddis. The facred priftes flamines diales, wolde haue brought thither thefe minftrelles tuglers and gefters for to retorce of feaft. and contrary wife the holy nunnes bestales, wolde have bone the fame, fo that bariaunce felle betwene them. Come with force, and some with relistence, and some ranne thy= ber in fauouringe of both parties, and not a fewer to beparte them. The cruell and greatte novle of flaughter a= monge them was suche, that it tourned the feaste to wepynges, the pleafures into forowes, and they? fonges in= to warllynges. This good emperour laboured to peafe this furie of the people, and to fette peace among the nep= bours of Rome. Whan all was done he made curious Di= ligence to ferche out all the players, juglers, and iestours :15 of Rome, and in all the circuite of Italy, that they might be chastifed, and Kome Delpucted of them. And for eram= ple of all the worlde he fente theym to the gate of Doffie, and commaunded to fet thepm in Galies, and to banpffe DO them for euer into the ples of Billespont: whiche was ac= coms

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complyshed as the emperour commaunded. And fro that daye was never sene at Rome sugler noz seller, as longe as themperour lyued. But it passed not two peres after his deathe, but they retourned, whan his sonne hadde the rule. And excepte the bokes doo lye, there was in Rome greatter nomble of sooles than of wise men.

Detthe good conucreation of this emperour Marcus Aurelius. Cap. rb.

Chane land of the hatred that this emperout

a had to trewandes, reuclers, getters, tuglers,

gefters, and fuch other: Dowe myl we fpeke of his laudable erercifes of thepm that came to hom. To be welle condicioned, the malpce of mankende is fo great, that as good men are bounde to regard the pil, so do they that be pl regarde to distroye the good. The trace of vertu is as good in good thingis with them y be good, as the vice a dishonestie of empl folkes is in eupl thinges. What greatter cozzuption in this world may be, than a bertuous persone for one worke of bertue can not fynde one to helpe hym to worke it, aud whan he alone bath wrought it, there commethe tenne thowsande to gapuclave hom? The greattefte goodneffe of all good: neffe is whan trannies ar put bnder by bertues acquyred: 02 to fynde remedy agaynste accustomed vices with good inclynations. And the greattefte eupli of all euplies is whan a persone forgettethe that he is a man, puttynge reason bnder fote, fraining his hand agaynft bertu, and letteth bice rule the brible. This emperour AB. Aurel. fus Repned in his lpfe great glozie in the eschewpage the bil-

lany of byllaynes : no leffe merited he immortal memory

in sufferinge druers diffionelipes in the execution of his

bertues of bani and th upous. cause th puelles ners of aente to to hroc with one tuous, l nebeoft be plie to Spente as ftronge exercples men, hal wife amo prince to good me condemp as the coo noz coztu be that he bpm to bt harte, alb lyce. fogi abstepne h that is pa thewe the scouer the

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bertues. An bufallibe reule hit is amonge the chylozen of banitie, to chylde the bices of theym that be bycyous. and the pertues welle incorporate nouryffhe many enupous. They that be pile, benne alwayes bouble pile, by= cause they beare armour defensque to defende they; ofone puelles : and armes offenfpue to affaple the good ma-The trowthe is, if good menne be bply= gente to feeke other that be good, no leffe oughte they for to hybe theym from theym that be pile: for a good manne with one fynger hathe power ouer all theym that be bertuous, but for to withstande one plle personne, he hathe nede of handes feete and frendes . And thoughe fortune be plic to good menne, they, owne propre fame hall be spente as of straungiers . This good emperoure was ftronge in bertue, meeke in wordes, attemperate in his exercyfes, homely with every man, fabbe amonge fabbe men, halty amonge baity men, Mery with mery men, and wife amonge wife men, as it is conuenable for a curious prince to be. And whan thefe are approued in the lawe of good men by clere bnderstandynge, as well shall they be condempned by theym that have plle intencions. Thanne as the cooles canne not be in the embres without fparkis, noz corruption of the carion withoute ftenche:no moze can be that hath a hole and clere herte be, without infoglyinge bom to btter louvinge wordes: And he that hathe an vile harte, alwayes ouercommeth other with wordes of ma= lyce. fozit is certapne, foz a finall feafone the louer mape absterne his love, and pette lesse tyme the payne of hym, that is payned with loue hydde. The forowfulle frakes thewe the hurte of the bette, and the malicious wordes Di= scouer the yll of the harte. we have saybe all this bycause that the bountie of this good Emperoure Marcus Au= telius let all his top and gladnes in them that were good, D. ii. and

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and bewayled theym that were vile . And as in femblable thrnges the worthy men thewe their worthynes, and wife men their wifedome, bernae bertuous in workenae and wife in knowlearna were bery wife in diffimulyna. One of the bertues that a wife man ought to haue (wherin he Chall be knowen as wole) is that he can fuffre well . for & ma that can fuffre wel, was neuer but wife a wel manerd. and therwith to fuffre the bertue of vil bulines is a thrna reasonable of all reasonables bestes, and of them that be good bery good. And by contrarge wife the man that can not well fuffre, though it be in bery fufte thinges, hopeth not to be well treated . And lykewyle as this emperour Marcus in all pertues bathe ben egall with all the empecours of Kome that have benne, In this bertue of fufferaunce he hath furmounted all them of the world. De was wont to fay many tymes: I have not attayned to the em= pire by the fricces that I have lernit of the phylosophers. but by the pacience that I have had with them that were frowarde and not lerned . And this femeth to be true: for oftentymes this emperour bernge with the Senate at Collifce, or the Senate with hom in the brahe Capitoll, he sevnae in his presence druers that prayled hym, and other that in his absence amonge the people blamed hym and rebuked hym his attemperaunce pet was fo greatte, and the wed hom felfe fo tult with one and other, that nevther his frendes that agreed with him that were forowful, nozhis ennemies foz any diffauour went away complape nynge and anarve,

Tof the feaste that the Romannes kepte to the god Jano in Rome, and what chaunced to the sayde emperour there, Cap. rbi.

begrung a fumpt Pompil ple of I ther. 200 Rome to forthwite temple of all Kome they had made ma

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ued. The that daye wolde red this god if they speat dea euery soat the pareste a parte, and the artiues and

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the god Janus, kepte the frifte dave of the pere, whiche as nowe is the frifte dave of Tanyuer : De was paynted with two faces, to thewe that it was the last day of the pere passed, and the bearinginge of the newe pere. To this god was Deducate a sumptuous temple in Rome, whiche Temple Quma Dompilius called the temple of peace. And except the tem ple of Jupiter, it was holden in moofte reuerence of all o= ther. Whan the Romanne emperours wente or came to Rome to visite the high capitoll, and the vestall birging, forthwith they wente to pray, worthyp, and to offre at the temple of Janus. The day of celebration of the fand feaft all Kome recorced, and put on them the beffe clothes that they had, beennynge greatte lyghtes in euery hous, and made many playes of interludes, of geftes and juglyng, & watched al nyght in the temples, a delyucred al the palloners that were in pallon for Debt, a paide the Debtes with the common treasour. They had tables with mete before their doozes in fuche haboundance, that moze was left tha eaten, wher with all the pooze folkes in Kome were releued. The Romanns thought, that what fo euer they fpete that daye, that the god Jano (whiche was god of tymes) wolde rewarde them double. The Komarnes faide, that this god Janus was not bukynde and a nygarde, for if they frent a lyttell, he wolde recompence theym with a great deale. At this feafte was made great processions, euery forte of people by them felfe, the fenate went a part, the prieftes aparte, The Cenfores a parte, the pleberens a parte, The matrones and ponge marbens by them felf.

and the ambassadours went in procession with althe captines and prisoners. Thus they went ever two and two:

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the ende of one company was the beginning of an other. And thus out of the temple of Janus, they wente aboute all the temples of Rome, and foo out of Dorte latine into the feldes, and rounde aboute the walles of Rome. And bycaufe the circuite of Rome was greatte, the proceffions went but from one gate to an other, fo that toward night al the processions of Rome had gone euerpchone in their company aboute: And that bone they retourned all into the temple that they came out of, and there offred echeone as they myght. And in the fard proceffions it was of custome, that the emperours went accompanied with the lenatours: but this good emperour was fo famplier, that he wolde honour and accompany every man. It was accustomed in Rome, that the layde day themperour shulde meare on his robe, and mantelle imperiall: And all p:10= ners and captines that myght touch hym with their had, were belyuerd, al trefpallours were parboned, and banis thed folke were forgiven, and called agapn. Ind this emperour to ble his clemency, and to leave after hym perpetuall memozy, lefte the procession of senatours, and without any gard went the procession with prisoners and captiues. The whiche boinge was occasion to leave behynde hym perpetuall memozy of him felfe, and great example of clemencie and lowlynes to princes for to come . Howe be it there is nothinge so well done of them that be good, but forth with it (halbe contraried of them that be pl: And therfore this example was foo moche dispraised of theym that were pil, as prayled and allowed of theym that were good. And in lyke wife as among them that be good there is one noted to be pure good, fo amonge them that be pll, there is one noted to be right pile. And that worle is , that the vertuous person estemeth not the alogie of his vertue fo gret, as the malitious person by his malyce is framio.

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me to all glad of n causeth h lawes per wyl not st by the prince Senate, b gentyll co this of the the prince fishes of the the this of the this of

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This is layde bycaule there was a lenatour in the lenate named fuluius, whiche was as blacke by his malyce, as white by his heares. He labouted loze in the dayes of Addition to have bene emperour, and had Marcus alwayes as competitour. And as it is a natural thing to them that have yll hartes to thewe they; malice in small thinges, so this emperour dyd never good thinge openlye, but this fuluius wolde groudge therat secretly. And though this emperour was greatly prayled for the delyverynge of presences, yet the sayd senatour coude not have the prudence for to suffer it, and soo parte in mockery, and parte in ereness the sayde these wordes to the emperour in the senate: why gruest thou thy selfeto all mene

Thowe Marcus the emperour auns wered a fenatour in the fenate. Cap. rbi.

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nid. Chis fenatoz had fayde to hym in the prefence of the fenatours, that is to wit, wherfore he gaue hym to all men, he answered: frende I give

me to all men, bycause all men gyue them to me, and are glad of me. Beleue me, that ouer great rigour in a prince causeth hatred of the people: The goddis wyll not, nor the lawes permit not, nor the agreemente of the comon welthe wyl not suffre, y princis be lordes ouer many, at a accompany but with a fewe. I have redde in bokes, a have promed it by my selfe, that the love of subjectes, the suretie of the prince, the dignitie of thempire, and the honour of the Benate, do conserve the prince, not with rigour, but with gentyll conversation. The fysher goth not to take drivers fishes of the river with one batte, nor y mariner with one nette entrethe in to the see. I promyse you the depenes of good

good wylles oughte to be wonne with the depenes of the harte, fome with apfres, fome with wordes, fome with pro mples, and fome with fauours. The infaciate couctous men are neuer contente, noz well open their affection, but locke by they treafours. And fuch as ferueth for loue, ar leffe content with opening of they treafure, than locking up their wylles . It is an olde prouerbe of Pythagoras: Loue is pard with other loue. D how pl fortune it is to a prince, a how buhappy it is to a comon welth, what the pe ple ferue not their lozdes but for rewardes, a the lordes to kepe a mainterne them, but for their feruice. with divers fones 4 one coment buyloring is repled, and of diners me and one loide is composed a common welthe. And if geometrie bearle me not, the moster that tornethe one stone with an other, oughte to be medled with fand and flecked lyme by refon. Separate the stones, and the wal openeth, and let the coment fayle, and the edifice talleth. De that is wife, may well buderstande me. Loue betwene neybourg fufferith to be mytigate with water : but hit is requifyte, that the love of the prince and his people be pure . Dr= uers trombles , and atte dyners tymes I haue feene a: monge the common people of Rome in one daye moued & appealed: but one discorde repled betwene the lorde and the common welthe, buto the dethe is never accorded. It is a difficile thringe to make appointment of many with many, and more difficile to accorde one with an nother. 23 ut without comparison more harder it is to appoint diuers with one, than one with dyuers. And in this cafe I topl not faue the prince nor leue the people bucondepued. fro whens (as pe think) cometh it now a days, that lordis with annopance commaunde bniufte thinges, and in tuft thunges the subicctes are bnobedient ! Dowe here me & I hall tell you. The prince doinge a thinge in Debe, and

not of beleu and a ofthe boas reth h it be a be met mete ti thers t be they our her 7 haue Celfe ou of fome bokes, by amia ftraung than th than the among lowable (as Don were of Egiptie was a la ples bpo came bel che thyn of his re

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not of righte, will confounde the will of every manne, and beleue his owne bnderstandpnae, and drawe of him felfe and all other his onely wyl. Contrary wife, the multitude of the people dispraylynge they? loides buderstondynge, Do as they wpl: not as all wyll, but as every manne belireth hom felfe. Of trouth it is a greuous thing, although it be greately accustomed, to will that all gounes shulde be mete for one man, and that one mans harnes shulbe be mete to arme all men . Than what shall we do, that our fa thers have lefte thus in the worlde, a alfo we hold that we be they; chyloren, and that worfe is, we leave the fame to our heires! D howe many princis of my predecessours. I have redde of, that have bene lofte in thewynge theym felfe ouer ftraunge, and beloued of none ? I will tell pou of fome of theym for cramples, that I have redde in my bokes, to thintent that papicis may fee what they wynne by amtable convertation, and what they lofe by overmoch fraungenes . In the realme of Affiens greatter in armes than the Caldeens, and leffe in aduantage and antiquitie than the Affiriens : Dne maner forme of konges endured amonge them. CC. and. rr. peres, by reason they were of lowable conversation. And an nother fourme and maner (as Bomer farth) lafted but.rl. veres, bicaufe they kinges Ind the.ir. Epiphanes of the were of an vil condicion. Egiptiens was bonombed and put down, bycaufe there was a lawe that echone foulde be bare legged in the temples byon the holy dayes. And this kynge on a day riding came before the god Apis, god of the Egiptiens, the whiche thynge was not suffred, for besyde that he was put out of his realme, be was chaftifed. Alfo the. bi. Arfacidauell the inuincible kynge of Parthes, not onely was deprined, but also banyshed out of his realme, bycause he dyned at a knyghtes bridale, and wolde not cate at the bridale of a comuner.

comuner.pet alfo thoughe the realme of Italy was fcant; they hartes were greatte : for breaufe one of they Bar= ranes, for fo were their bringes called, had fette his gates by nyghte for to flepe the furelyer, he was bepriued of his realme : bycaufe a lawe was made, that noo prince fhulde fhette his gates night noz day : foz they fapde, they habbe made hym kyng for to bryue away their ennemies, and not to be daintily nourified. Tarquine the laft bynge of the Romannes was bukpnoe to his father in lawe, Diffamed his blod and kynrede, was a traytour to his countrep, cruell of his persone, and advoutrer with Lucrece: but for all that he was not called bongentyll, nor infamed, noz trapter, noz cruell, noz aduoutrer, but he was named Tarquine the proude, bycaufe he was of pile condicions and complexions. And yet by the lawe of good menne, I Iwere to you, that if the fard buhappy Tarquine had had goed well in Rome, for the aduquitie of Lucrece he had not be put out of his realme, fog as moche as other great: ter and more greuous harmes habbe benne boone before his tyme, and also moche wors lithen by aged emperoure in the empyre, the whiche crymes by them commetted, were suche, that the offence of this fraple ponge man, was but fmalle in chimation. for thringe certarne thefe princes holde, that if they grue dructs occasions for they pil well, pet a lettel thinge fuffifeth if he fhewe, that the hate that he hath is for none pil will: but the hate that the fub tecte hath to the lorde, is by cause he hath no power.

Julius Celat, the laste dictatour and firste emperour, bycause he forgate to be a man among men, but thinking to be a god amonge goddis, beynge a laudable custome, that the senate shulde salute the emperour on they; knees, and the emperour to tyse cutteselie agepust theym: by cause of a presumptuous mind, he wold not kepe the sere-

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monie, he merited to lese his lyfe with triff. Arokes of penkniues. And as I sape of these so sewe a nombre, I mape sape of many other. The philitiens with a lyttell Kubarbe purge many humours of the body, and the emperor with a littel beneuolence taketh many greues fro the stomakes of his subjectes. The people owe obedience to the prince, and to do his persone great reverence, and fulfyll his comaundementes, and the prince oweth egall instice to euery man, and make conversation to all men.

T Parcus Portius faide druers tymes in Kome: That the publicke welthe is there perpetual and withoute any fodayne falle, where the papies fondethe obedience, and all the people fyndeth loue with the prince. for of the love of the loade bredethe the good obedience of the fub= tecte, and of the obedience of the subjecte bedeth the good loue of the loade. The emperour in Rome is lyke to afpiber that is in the myddes of her webbe. for if the lapde coppe webbe be touched with the popute of a nedel, forthwith the spider feleth hit. I meane that all the werkes of the emperour in Rome benne Areyabte wave knowen in all the erthe. I beleue that this dave I have bene iudged of humanne malyce, for accompanyenge the processyon of the captives, and that I suffred theym to towche me, that they myghte enion the privilege of lybertie.

A yelde and grue greate graces to my goddis of my good happe, bycaule they have made me pitifull forto bely uer prisoners, and not cruell as a traunte forto make they me bonde that be free. The proverbe sayth: One snare maye take two byrdes: So it hath ben this daye: for the benefy te rebounded onely to the myserable prisoners, but the savour to all their nations. And doo ye not knowe, that by takynge awaye they rooms, I have drawen to me the hartes of all they realmes and countrys? Synally

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tt is more sure to a pronce to be served with free hartes, and love of them that be at lib rtie, than of subjectes confreened with feare.

Day for the bulynelles of thempire.cap. rbiti.

Tre before we have thewid how this good emperiour had greate hatred of men that were of yll lyupnge, and that passed their tyme in ylle exercise, It suffiseth not the philosopher to represe the vice of other by wordes, but it is ne-

preue the bice of other by wordes, but it is necellarie that he bo b werkes that he requireth other to do: It is reason nowe to shewe, howe this emperour by his greate paudence compaffed a dispatched the great a huge bulinelles of the empire, the particularities of his houles holde, the recreation of his persone, therereise of his studies, the infinite reasonynge with one and other, with su= che peyne takynge, and in fo fhorte tyme . De was fo apte and wel adupted, that by hym there was no tyme pl fpent. Rozneuer fapled to dispatche the bespnes of the empire. And bycause the tyme is gloryous of hym that gloriously Spendeth it, and the tyme is accursed that to our domage, and without profite to other palleth, leaving be ignorate as brute beaftes: De departed the time by times, the ordre wherof was thus. Seuen houres he flepte in the nyahte, and refted one houre in the day : At dyner and fupper he wasted but onely two howees: he deputed two houres for the matters of Alie: Other two howses for the buspnelle of Europe and Affrike: and in conversation of his house a with his wife and chylozen feruauntes and fredes that came to fee hym, he fpente other two houres: Ind for the outwarde befrielle, as to here the complayntes of theym that

fice, th and bac of the Da to make wife me o2Dinate ted hym nous ma awokea euer lpal whan he a boke at the reft of clocke, at tilp: he h they had ! herse wha dpe, he w waters:fo had a goo befoze ette lectuarie o After that riner fide, and as for capitoll to where as a uinces wer dape, and the trine th uenpinge, h les. De cate

that we

that were greued: The fuites of poore men wantyng Tufice, the widowes, the robberies of pyckers, of mychers, and bacaboundes, he beputed an other houre. 311 the reft of the day and night in redinge of bokes, to write workes. to make metres, to fluore antiquities, to practife with wife men, to dispute amonge philosophers, he valled thus ordinately in wynter: And in Commer if cruell warres let= ted hym not, or that he were troubled with greate a hainous matters, be went ever to bed at, ir. of the clocke, and awoke at. iiii. It was of custome that emperours habbe euer lyahtes beennynge in they chaumbie. Ind therfore whan he a woke, bycaufe he wolde not be pole, he had euer a boke at his beddes heed. And thus in redynge he fpente the rest of the nucht, tpl it was day . De rose at. bi. of the clocke, and made hym redy openly, not angrely, but merily: he wolde demaunde of them that were prefent, howe they had frent all the night tyme. And there he wolde reherse what he hadde redde that nyghte. Whan he was re= dre, he wolde washe his handes with very wel smellinge waters: for he was a great louer of all fwete obours . De had a good and a quicke smellpage. Than in the morning before every man he wolde take itt.oz.titt. morcelles of e= lectuarie of flicados, and two draughtes of Aqua bite. After that in sommer he wolde go forthwith a fote to the river fide, a there paffe the time the space of two houres. And as foone as the heate came, he wolde go to the hygh capitoll to the senate. That done he wente to the colledge, where as all the procurours and ambassadours of al pro= uinces were: and there be wolde bea greatte parte of the bave, and here energy nation by hit felfe, accordynge to the trine that was deputed by order. And towarde the e= uenpage, he wolde go to the temple of the birgins beffa= les. De cate but ones a daye, and that was fomwhat late, and

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and thanne he wolde make a good meale, and but of fewe meates. De had acustome ettery weke in Kome, of other cities, where as he was, that two bayes late in the euens aprice he wolde walke in the ftretes without bis garde oz knyghtes, onely with r.o. rit pages , to fe if any perfone wolde freake with hym, or complayne of any officer of his courte and howfe, and this becaufed to be Demaunded of other men. This good emperour wolde often tymes fape: A good papace that well tule and governe wel, and not to be a tyraunte, oughte to do thus : That is, that he be not couctous of tributes, not proude in his commaundementes, not bukynde to ferupces, not bolde in the temples, not Defe to here complayntes. In fulfillynge hereof be fhall have the goddes in his handes, and the hartes of menne thalbe his. All the whyle that this Marke was emperour he had neuer porter at his chaumbre Doore, but if it were the two houres that he was with faustine his wyfe. This good emperour had in his howfe a fecrete chofette locked with a key that he bare hym felfe, And neuer trufted none other ther with to the houre of his beath. And than he coa maunded to belyuer it to Dompepano, a prudent ancient baron that was marred to his boughter: In the which clo men with p fet he had biners bokes writen in all langages, as Greke, hebzewe, latrne, and Caldee, and other antike biftories. Deweth to

The answere of AB. themperour, whan faustine his wife bom felfe to demaunded the kep of his flubp.ca.rir.

Sit is natural to wome to difpple that thing I lay faufti that is gruen them bnafsed, fo it is deathe to and the bain them to be benared of that they Do Demande, date that It bowfe in the moofte fecrete place of his palays, wherin he fmariage, y

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neyther day it c natly to melepo childe, a that the Denied ti if pe do o for Th uer 3 th within po trauailin no areat t emperous bicaufe he ted her on contented. keth with the eien we that is lock des thewe & ons. Amon be is mooft they are den speake inou è E

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neyther fuffred his wife, feruant, 110; frend to entre. On a day it chanced, that fauftin thempreffe Defired importunatly to fe that fludy, faying thefe wordes: 98y lozoe, let me le pour fecrete chaumbre, beholde, I am greatte with childe, and shall ove if I fee hit not. Ind ve knowe well, that the lawe of the Romaines is, that nothinge hall be denied to womenne with childe, of that they delire. And if pe do otherwife, ve doo it in dede, but not of eraht. for I hall ope with the childe in my body. And moze o= uet I thynke in mp minde, that re have some other louer within your fludie. Therfore to put away the peril of my trauailinge, and to affure my harte from Teloulie, hit is no areat thinge to lette me entre in to your ftudie. emperous feinge that faultines wordis were of trouthe. biraufe he fame her wordes walhed with weping, ani weted her on this wife: It is a thinge certapne, whan one is contented, he farth moze with his tonque, thanne he thin= keth with his hart. And contrary wole whan one is heup, the eien were not fo moch, noz the tongue can not declare. that is locked in the harte. Wayne men with baine wozbes thewe and occlare their baine plefures: And the wife men with prubente wordes, billemble they? crucile paffi= ons. Among wife men be is wifelt that knoweth moche, & heweth to knowe but lyttelle: And amonge the symple. be is mooft fimple, that knoweth but lettell, and feweth bym felfe to knowe moche. They that ar prudent, though they are demaunded fay nothing: but fimple folke will beate inough without alkinge of any question. ing I lap faustine, bicause the wepinge hathe soo hurte me. to and thy baine speche so turmented me, that I can not de= oc. date that I fele, northou canft nat fele p that I fave. Dihis pres advertisementes have they writen, that have writen the tmariage, yet have they not waite, how many travayles

that one womanne causeth her husbande to suffre in one Daye. Of a suretie, it is a topfull thynge to retopce in the chylohode of chyloren, but it is a ryght cruel thing to fuf= fre the importunities of they; mothers. The chylogen bo nowe and then a thong that tourneth be to pleasure, but pe women do nothunge but gyue be displeasure. I shal agree with all marted men to pardon they; chylogens ples Cures, for the annoyance that the mothers grue to them. Due thyinge I haue fene, the whiche neuer begyled me, that the fufte goddes do grue to the butufte menne, that all the euplies that they doo in this worlde, shall be temytted to the furies of the other worlde: But if they boo commytte any fpnne forthe pleasure of any woman, the goddes commaunde, that by the handes of the fame wo manne, we Mall recepue pepne in this wo;loe, and not in the other . There is not foo frees oz perpllous an ennemp to a manne, as is his wyfe. And though a manne can not lyue with her as a man, I neuer fame none foo lyght,bepage with a bicious woman, in bopng byce, but that by the fame woman at the laft he recepued fhame and chafti-De one thyng Jam fure, and I fap it not bp. caufe I haue feene it, but experimented in mp felfe, that though the hufbande do all that his wpfe wylle, pet wyll the do nothing that her hulband wolde haue bone. Great crueltie is among the barbariens to holde they; wyues as Tclaues : And no leffe madnes is it of Romannes, to kepe them as ladges. fleffhe ought not to be foo leane, that hit abhorte : nor fo fatte that it clove the ftomacke : but mene and enterlarded, to the ende that hit be fauourpe. I fage that a wyle manne canne not gyue fo ftronge a bapbelle to his wofe, that the wolle obeve as an hande mapben : no; gpue her fo lettell of the bapbell, but the welle exalte her Telfe as mapftreffe and reuler. Beholde fauftine home

pe wome that with growe in recouer a no egalit bnperfite Derftand a far mo her well be conten (he haue heco. An to ope, at nes. Deri molde sp gouerne, Delpze, th in folowi teg and fe appetites perens, and that on the mo called M taunt og d there was one was ! and in the On the b the weke questions that be n

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pe womenne are foo extreme in all heedlonge extremities, that with a lyttell fauout pe wylle exalte, augmente, and growe in to great pride : and with a lyttell disfauour, ve recouer greatte hatred. There is no parfite loue, where is no egalitie betwene the louers. And as ye and other are bnperfite, foo is your loue bnperfite. I wote well pe bnberftande me not . Therfoze bnberftande fauftine that I far moze than re wene. There is no woman, that with her well wolde fuffre any greatter than her felfe : noz to be contente to have an other egall with her. for thoughe the haue a. D. li. rent, pet the hathe. r. D. folpes in her heed. And that worfe is, though it chaunce her hufbande to dre, and the lefte all her rent, pet endeth no her folithe= nes. Derken to me, and I fhall tell pou moze. All women wolde fpeake, and haue all other to be ftylle: they wolde gouerne, and be gouerned of none other. One thyng they Delyze, that is to fee, and to be fenc. And fuch as be lyaht in folowinge they lyghtnes, they holde as their lubiecs tes and sclaues: and suche as be wpfe, and reproue they? appetites, they purfue as enmies. In the annales Dompepens. I have founde a thrng worth for to be knowen. and that is: Whan Gnee Bompete paffed into the Ditent on the mountagnes Rifees he founde a maner of people called Mafagetes, whiche had a lawe, that every inhabitaunt or dweller fould have two tonnes or fattes, bycaufe there was lacke of howles in the lapbe mountaines: In one was the hulbande, the fonnes and menne feruauntes: and in the other the wyfe the doughters and mapbens. On the holy dayes they dydde eate to gyther, and ones in the weke they lave together. whan great Dompeye had questioned the cause of their lyuyuge in that maner, for that he neuer fawe noz knewe a moze ettreme thonge in all the worlde. One of theym answered: Dompey behold,

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the goddis have gruen bs but a shortelyfe, for none of bs may lyue aboue. It. pere at the moste, and those peres we trauaple to lyue in peace. And in having our wrues with bs styll in companye, we shulde lyue ever drenge: for we shulde passe the nyghtes in herrnge their complayntes: and the days in suffering their brawlinges a chydinges. In keppinge them this wise from bs apart, they nourishe they chyloren more peasibly, eschewringe the noyles that

Aceth the fathers.

I I tel the fauftin, that though we cal the Mafagetes barbariens, in this case they be wifer than the Komarns. One thinge I woll tell pou fauftin, a I pap pou marke it wel. If the beaftly mounge of the fieline enforced not the will of man to bo his lufte, and that he wolde not des fire women, I Doubte whether women wolde fuffre it og loue it the leffe. Of trouth if the goddis hadde made this loue boluntarie, as it is natural, that is as we wolde we myght, and not as we wold and may not, with great pein a man mpatte be latisfied, though he fhuld lofe him felfe for any woman. It is a great fecrete of the goddis, and a areat mplerie to man, that the farnt and weke fleshe both force the herte whiche (bulde be free, to love that it abhorreth, and to alowe that that domageth. This is a greatte fectete, that men canne fele it every houre as men:and yet by discretion may not remedy it. I enuie not the lyupinge goddes, not the menne that be deed, but for two thringes, and they ben thefe: The goddis lyue without feare of the that be malycious, and they that be deed are in peace with out nobe of women. The appe is to corrupt, that it corrupteth enery man with two peffilent plages fo beadely, that the flelhe and the harte endeth. D faultine, is the loue of the flefhe fo natural, that what the flefhe fleeth fcoanfully, we Quioe leue the true harte as captiver And the resonne

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wpfe, be folowed and thei in ftebe t ve wome from the pou: to f to forgett handes p pour tono the better hartes an feleth this to howe n bomen is they count byin lyghi barde: if is not req thepm: if b of he delpzi

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as reason put her to flyght, the flesthe as fleshe forthwith peloeth her to you as ouercome.

The emperour reherfeth the perilles of them that haunt women excellinely. Cap. gr.

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ine as hemperour folowinge his purpose declareth the universall domages, that come to man by ouermoche conversation and hauntynge of women. And after he had tolde some particular cases that he had suffred with faustin his

lar cases that he had suffred with faustin his wofe, be fand : I am wel remebred, that in mp yong age I folowed the flefte to moch, with purpofe neuer to return: and therfore I cofeffe, bif I had good defires in one day, in fede therof a. 99. days I wroughte pil. It is reason & pe women flee from them that flee from you: to bybe you from them that hove them fro you: to leue them that leue you: to seperate you fro them, that separate them fro you: to forgette them that forget you. for some scape fro pour handes pl famed and effeminate: and other are burt with pour tonges, many ben perfecuted with your werkes, and the better to fcape free, they come away abhorred of your hartes and bounde to your lyghtneffes . Than who that feleth this, what getteth he by the atternynge therof & D to howe many perplies offerethe he hym felfe, that with bomen is greatly convertante! If a man love theym not, they count bym as a billepne: if he love them, they thynke buin lyahte: if he leave theym, they repute hym for a co= barde : if he folowe them, he is lofte: if he ferue them, he is not regarded : if be ferue theym not, he is bated of thepm: if he wolle have thepm, they woll not have hom: of he delyze theym not, they wille feeke on hom : of he haunte theym, he is pile named : if he haunte theym not, B.II. thep

they recken hom no man. What fall the buhappy manne Do : Let men take this for certapne, that though the buf= bande do for his wyfe al that he can do as a ma, and that he ought to bo as a hulbande, and with his weakenes bo the befte that he can, for to fynde remedy agaynfte pouers tie with histrauarle, and putte hom felfe in Daunger for her every houre, al this that not pleafe his wyfe, noz make her the better: but the well fare, that the traptre loueth os ther: and that all that he bothe, is onely to accomplyfife his pleafure on them. Dany Dayes ago fauftine I haue wylled to tell the this, but I have differred it tyll now, ho pringe that thou woldeft quie me occasion to telle it the : the whiche longe ago thou hafte caufed me to feele. It is no popute of wyle men, that for eucrye tyme they are annoped with their wynes, forthewith to hurte theym with wordes, for amonge wife men the faid wordes are mofte estemed when they are well appropried and sappe to good purpole. I do bethynke me, that it is. bi. yere fith anthomy pie thy father did chuse me to be his sonne in lawe, and thou me to be thy hulbande, and I the for my wife : this my fatall destente byd permytte, at the commaundemente of Abrian my lorde. Dy father in law gaue the his fayre boughter to me for wyfe, and the bery fabbe and pondetous empire in marvage. I trome we were all beapled : De to take me for his fonne, and I to chuse the for my wyfe. He was named Anthony Dius, bycaule he was pps tiefull in al thynges, faue buto me, to whom he was crus ell, for in a lyttell deffbe be gaue me many bones: and to far the trouthe, I have no tethe to anaweit, noz no heate in my flomacke to digefte hit : and many tymes I baue thought my felfe lofte with it. foz thy beautie thou were delyzed of many, but for thyne pll condicions thou were abhorted of all. D howe buhappy ben thy destenies faustyne,

Orn, an haue gr they has condicio 3 Cap to to the, fi all pli fo and 0021 tes, that dapes: to me. b if I had than tha and thou my map(mp pouc pire. Bu felfe to m haue fuff but I can moche, bi a man cot confider, herhufba with his 1 that (be m fre her, th all thynge (as a won me, pf feat Speche of t all the cha

The harte

firm, and howe pl have the goddes provided for the. They have gruen the beautie, and tycheffe for to bnoo the: And they have benied and refused to the the beste, that is good condicions, qualitie, and wpledome to maynteyne them. I far to the agarne, that the goddis have ben bery crucil to the, fythe they adjelled the to the whyslepole, where as all pli folke perple, and have taken from the, the faples and oozes, wherby all good folke escape. The rrrbiti. pe= res, that I was without wyfe, femed not to me. xxxbiil. bapes : and the. bi. peres that I have bene maried , feme to me. bi. hundjed peres. I wpl affure the one thyng, that if I had knowen before, that I knowe now, and had felte than that I fele at this houre, I wolde fay an other thing, and though the goddis wolde commande me, and Adrian my mapfter wolde commaunde me, I wolde not chaunge my poucrtie and quietnes, for the mariage of the a them= pire. But I have defired the in thy good fortune, and my felfe to myn yll fortune. I haue fapoe but a lytelle, and haue fuffred a greate deale. I haue fayned a great whyle, but I can fapne no longer. Do man luffreth his wyfe foo moche, but he is bounde to fuffre moze. Let a man, that is a man confider, and lyke wyfe a woman that is a woman confider, what boldenes the is of that quarellethe with her hulbande, and that he is a foole that brawleth openly with his wife. for if the be good, he ought to fauour her, that the maye be the better : pf the be a threwe, he muft fuf fre her, that the ware not wors. Guery man knoweth, that all thynges fuffereth chaftifement faue a woman, whiche (as a woman) wel be defired and praped. fauftine beleue me, pf feare of the goddis, the fhame of her perfone, and speche of the people withdrawe not a woman from cupile. all the chastisement of the world well not ouercome her. The harte of manne is bery noble, and the harte of a wo-B.III. man

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man is deputie, and wyll have areat hore for a lottel acob nes, and for moche cupil no chaftilement. I wife man wol knowe what he hath to Do or he marie . Than if he Determyne hym to take the company of a wife, he ought to en= large his harte to recevue all that mave come with her. It is but a fmall wette in a man to fette by the fmalle fantafies of his wyfe, or for to chaftife openly that may be righs ted betwene them fecretely. De that is wife and well loue quietly with his wife, ought to kepe this rule: Admonishe ber often, and reproucher but felbom, and lar no bandes on ber. for by other meanes be gettethe no fibelite in ber, not good entreatynge of her, not good byngynge by of their chylozen, noz feruice to the goddis, noz any hope of profite of her. And thus faultine I will fave no more to the, but that thou confider, that I do confider, and know that I do le, and that my fuffrance buknowen to the, may fuffple to amende thy lyfe.

The emperours answere to faustine for that the laybe, the was with chylde. Cap. rri.

Owe that I have opened and put out the olde benym, I wyll answere to thy present question or demande. To thentent that medicins may profite them that be spke, it is necessarie to dispoyle the opilations a lettes of the stomake:

Lyke wyle none can counsayle his frende conuententely, but if he shewe first his grefe. Thou demaundeste of me the key of my study, and thou thetenest me, that if I give it the not, thou shalte be loste and hurte with thy fruyte, ye women with chylo have a good hostage of pledge, for buder colour of tranaplynge before your tyme, ye wolde have be fulfylic all your sonde appetytes. Whanne the holy

holy fen Roman mote no goodne Als fart bometo rieinat was for maketh ing that warre, t nate. It any fpea they Dete there in t hanging bracelett their hear of thepr b borbers c estemed t med agre there was to perform warre. A them any bay that t wellles in frue man at their De thewe the fit in the to The third holy fenat in the buhappy tyme made a lawe in fauour of Romanne matrones, they were not fo defirous. Rowe 1 mote not howe it is, but re all are anoved and werr of all moodnes. And all ve in all vil are befrious and couetous. As farre as I can remembre, whan Cample made his home to Cybille the mother of goddis, to fende hym bicto rie in a battavle, whan he had wonne the bictorie, Rome mas fo poore that it habbe nevther golde nor fyluer for to make the flatute of promeffe, the matrones than being feing that their hulbandes byd offre their lyues in the faibe marre, they granted to prefent their tewels to the holy fenate. It was a meruaplious thringe to fee, that withoute any fpeakynge to them, or without any mans entyfemete they betermyned all to gither to go to the hye capitol, and there in the prefence of every man prefented their omches banginge at they eares. The ringes of their fingers, the bracelettes of their armes, the perles from their attires of their heades, the collers from their neckes, The broches of theyr breftes, the airdelles aboute their myddels, and borders of their gownes. And though that their gift was estemed to a great balue, yet their good wylles was eftemed agreatte Deale moze. The tychelles that they offered there was fo greatte, that there was not allonely inough to performe the bowe of the statut, but also to pursewe the warre. Ind as than the cultome of Kome was, & none Did them any plefure, but he was (bottly recopenced; the fame bay that the matrons bidde offre their ryche and faire iewellles in the capitolle, there was graunted buto theym frue maner of thynges in the Senate : The frafte, that at their beathes the oratours thulb preache, publishe, and hewe their good liuinge : The feconde that they fulbe fit in the temple, where as before they were wont to frand: The thirde, that they thuld were furred a lyned gownes, where

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where as before they ware none but lyngle: The. itil. that in their difefes they myaht drinke wone, where as before on their lyues they burft Dunke none, but water : The .b. that the matrones of Rome great with childe, chulde not be refused of any thonge that they despied . These foue thinges for certapne were fuftlye and willingely graunted by the lenate: And why this lawe that commaundethe to denage nothynge to a woman with chylde was made, I will tel the the occasion that moued the senate so to Do. fulutus Togquate beinge confull in the warre agapufte the Colicos, the knyahtes of Dauritapne broughte to Rome a wylde man, that had but one eye, that they hadde taken in huntynge in the Defertes of Cappt. And the matrones of Rome were at that tyme as fad and honefte, as they be nowe bolde and lyght: fo was the wyfe of the faid Corquate, that was nyghe the tyme of her Delyucraunce great with childe, of trouth a woman to honeste, that for the fobre folytarynes that the kepte in Rome, the hadde noo leffe glogre thanne babbe her bulbande in the warres for his worthynes, the whiche was welle proued. for in the. riffi. pere that Cozquate her bul bande was in Alpe a warre fare, the friste tyme that he wente thyder, the was neuer fene at the wyndowe lokynge out, and the was not all onely regarded for that, but in all the layde. riii. peres neuer manchplde noz manne about the age of. bill . peres came within her gates. And not contente with this, that the byd to grue example to all Rome, and to attarne perpetuall memozy, where as the had lefte with her thie fonnes, the eldeft of whom was but thre peres of age: and as foone as they came to. but. pere. The fente them out of her house to their grauntefathers . And thus bydde this ercellent Komayne lady, to the entent that bnber colour of her owne chylozen there thulve none other ponge chylozen enter

entre i good o of the d by the l Dens to the goo there w bom, Ch came of moz loke aretly b ly belou no fuche maunde berles b There ! molde at TBebo the bethe pebe, an ple of her Done to o chploe, th bnto won chylde thu tequpre th is fapbe:h

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entre into her howse. Those yeres passed, after that the good olde man Toquate was retourned fro the warres of the Holses, the layde wylde man with one eye wente by the doore of the layde Toquate, and one of her maybens tolde her, that it was a meruaylous thynge to see and the good lady hadde great desyze to see hym, and bycause there was none to byginge hym to her, that the myghte see hym, the dyed for sorowe. And for certaine thoughe he came often inoughe by her doore, yet the wolde neuer goo nor loke out at her wyndowe to se hym. Her deathe was gretly bewayled in Kome, for the was in Rome most derely beloved, and good reason: for many dayes afore was no suche woman brought by in Kome. And by the commaundement of the senate, the tenour of this writings in berses were set byon her sepulchre,

There lyeth the glorious matron wife of Toquate, that

wolde aduenture ber lyfe to affure ber good fame.

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Be holde faustine, this lawe was not made to remedy the bethe of this matrone, but to the ende that to suche as pe be, and to all the worlde it shulde be a perpetual example of her lyfe, and memorie of her deathe. It was well done to orderne that law for an honest woman being with chylde, that it shuld be kept to all bertuous women. And but o women that wold, that the lawe of them that be with chylde shulde be kepte, by the same lawe it is requisite to require that they be honest. In the bistable of the lawe it is sapple: we commaunde, that where there is corruption of customes, there lyberties shal not be kepte.

Thowe tydinges was brought to the emperour, that the Mauritayns wold conquere great Britayne. Cap. rrif.

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A the. little pere of Marcus the emperours aege, and the tenthe pere of his election to thempire, In the month of July as he was in the citie of Maples, and not in very e perfitte helthe, for he was sooze payned with the

goute in his foote : there came a Centurion in maner of a meffager with great haft, faying, that in great Britayn was fodenly arroued a great naute of warre, to the nom: be of. C.a.rrr. Chops of the realme of Dauritam, and the quantitie of. rr. 99. men of foote: and . it . 99. men of ar= mes:and that the kying of Dauritayns brother was their capitapne, named Asclipio, the whiche had taken lande at a hauen of the ple called Arpine, and that to relpfte foo great a power, there were but a fewe people in the fapoe ple. The good emperour heringe thefe tiopnaes, though he felte it inwardely as a man, pet he feyned it outwardly as a discrete man with a sabbe countenaunce, and made fewe wordes. Than feinge, that bulines myght not be delaped, he lapde thele wordes: I will go with a fewereos ple, and do what I can. for better it were with a fewe to go betymes, than to tarpe for many and goo to late. Ind forthwith the good emperour pourueped, that all they of his palays shuld departe to go to Breanne, and none to tarie behynde to bo hym ferupce. The cultome was, that the emperours fhulde have alwaye in thep, boufes fuche men as were mete to be fent forthe in any befpnelles that Quide happen for warre. And after that they were fhpps ped, there ariued one of Bittapne, that he wed, howe the Mauritanns were retourned, so that none of theym was lefte in the ile. Than this emperour kepte his house in a good poput. Lyttell occasion suffiseth to them that be naturally of yll inclynations, to departe and fpzede through countreps to bo harme : therfoze he fent them of his hous

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the entent, that by occasion of the warre, they shulve not leade anyll lyfe. Than the emperour fearing the distolution of his courte, and boldenes of his officers, to the intent they shulde not leave bettue and growe in vice, he de termyned on a day to call them to him secretly, and to say these wordes to them,

TWhat themperour fayd to them of his court in eschewinge ydelnesse. Cap. rriti.

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De greattelte lygne in a bertuous man is to bo bertuous werkes, and bertuoully to sped and occupie his tyme: and the greattest signe of a loste man is to lese his tyme in naughtye

warkes. The greattest happe of all, and the greattelt belire of men is to lyue longe. for diuers chaun: ces that falle in Most tyme may be fuffered and remedied by longe space. Plato sapo : A man that passethe his lyfe without profite, as one buworthy to lyue, ought to haue the refte of his lyfe take from hom. The filthe of fecrete chambres, the fignche of the pompe in fipppes, nor the oz= Dures of cities do not corrupt the apre fo moche, as poelle folke bo the people. And as there is in a man, that occupis eth his tyme well, no bertue but it encreafeth, fo in hym, that occupieth his tyme plle, there is noo bilanie but it is fuspecte in hym. A manne that is alwaye welle occupyed, ought ener to be reputed as good : and the poel man with out further enquerie, ought to be codempned as nought. Shewe me nowe, I delyze you, what nourylhethe the corrupte and fowle wiedes, the nettelles that flynge, and the baters that papeke, but the erth that is butilled, and waren wylde, and the feldes fulle of thystelles, whyche is not wreded, and bifited with the plawahe?

A.ii.

D Rome

D Rome without Rome, that nowe as bnhappp haft but onely the name of Rome, bycaufe thou art fo dere in bettues, and makelt bices good cheape. pea pea, and I chall tell the, knowest thou wherfoze thou art fo! bycause thou hafte bnpeopled the lanes and fretes of werkemen and offycers, and hafte peopled it all aboute with infinite bas caboundes. I knowe for trouthe, that the Samptes, 110figoths, Aftrogoths, and Deniens fpzebbe in pour terry= torics, bo you not fo moche domage as do thefe poell and lofte people ftuffed in every hoppe. All writers canne not Dente me, that all nations willinge to conquere Rome, can not take away one loope of the walles of it: and thele phelle people have troben and pulled buder thep; fere the good renoume of it . An infallyble rule it is : a man given to exercples is bertuous, and one gruen to lewtrynges is a bicious person. What a biuine thing was it to sethe dis uine worldes of our predeceffours, the whiche fpthe Cullius Boltilius bnto Quintus Cincinatus Dictatour, and fith Cincinatus bnto Concinos, whiche were of the Sople lans and Marians, there was never confulle at Kome, but he coude do some maner of office oz occupation, wher with they were occupied whan their office in the Senate was ended. Some coude paynte pictures or other flatte workes : Other coude grave images and portry in wood oz erthe, oz other thynges, oz coulde wozke in fpluer, and other metalles : and other redde in scholes : In suche wife that the holy senate myght chuse none, but if he were firste knowen in Come maner handy craft. I do fynde in the annales all that is aboue lapoe: and if I lye, I doo grue me to the flames of Mulcan. Ind there was an anciente lawe, that a myller, a fmith, a baker, or a poput maker, myabte not be a Senatour, breaule men of the lapb occupations were commonly taken with deceptes and gyles. (Than tes) garde

ofcultor renoum to the scl annales upnge. u gepnft th lus agep tellus bis lawe beit the mpfte haupnge barres, 1 with the c dell man tope, that for compa fion to far in the fena pire, which by the god in welles, nythe mo t men. Tha this dethe. this o2Dure inuentife pi Can the ! in the table ges, we pra and admon their chylds

hep mape ly

gardett

garde the maner and chaunge of tyme, and the corruptio of customes , that. CCC. peres euery man trauapled for \$ renoume of Rome, a this. biti. C. peres, euery man flepeth to the sclaudre of Rome. Dther thynges I fynd in the lapd annales worthy of etern memorie, the people of Rome haupnge. titi. perillous warres to gether (ponge Scipio a= geynst the Peniens, Ducto agapust the Capens, Detellus agepufte Alcrander of Macedonie, and an other Me= tellus his brother agernft the Celtiberes of Sparne) the lawe beinge fo foze kepte, that none fhulbe be taken from the mysterie and office that he occupied, a the senatours haupinge extreme necellitie of mellangers to lende to the warres, whan the fenatours had gone thre dares aboute with the cenfores of Rome, they coulde not fynde one ps dell man to be sente forthe with their letters . I wepe for tope, that I have of this antibe felicitie: and I mourne to; compassion of the mpserie nowe beinge. It is a confufion to fap, but I will fave it: Twenty peres I had offpce in the fenate, and it is. r. peres fythe I have ruled the em= pire, whiche is. rrr. in all, In the whiche fealon I fwere by the goddis immortall, I have caused to whyppe, caste in welles, to bury quicke, to hange, to paicke, and to ba= nythe mo than. rrr. 99. bacaboundes, and.r. 99. poel wo= men. Than what difference is ther betwene that lpfe and this bethe, that gloppe and this paper, of that golde and this ozdure, of that antike Roman werke to our prefente muentife poelnes of Rome?

In the lawes of the Lacedemontens this was written in the table of the poell people: We commaunde as kynges, we praye as feruantes, we teache as philosophers, and admonythe as fathers, that the fathers that first teche their chyldren to lobour the feldes, where they trauayle they may elyue, and not in places, where as by poellenesse

Litt, they

they may be loft. And that law fayth ferthermore: If that yonge people obey not as yonge, we wylle that the aged people do correcte and punyshe them as aged. And in case that the fathers be neglygent to commande them, or that they be disobedient: we commande the prince than to be

Diligent to chaftife them.

Tertapnlye these wordes are worthy to be noted: wherby Lygurge the kynge described eternall memorie for his
persone, and the sayd realine perpetual pease in the common welthe. D Rome, what dost thou: Why regardeste
thou not these lawes of the Lacedemoniens, whiche with
their frendely customes, dothe mocke thy brutall byces!
Slepest or wakes? D Rome thou wakest alle the words
to leave sweet travaples, and slepest in univist ydelnesse.
Thou arte sure of ennemies, and thou careles arte drowned in slouth and ydelnes. Than syth that they that bene
ferre of, do waken the, thou oughtest to awaken the that
thou kepest with the. I wolde speake to all them to gether
of my palays, and longe agon I wylled so to do, but the
multytude of straunge besynesses somtyme causeth a ma
to forget his owne.

Of the perplious lyugnge of them that haunt the courte continually. Cap, priiti.

han the emperour toined these words to that the had sayde. Many thynges I have sene, and of credible persones I have harde, whiche me semed to be pll, and none of them good. Specially one, whiche offendeth the goddis, sclan-

dieth the world, peruerteth the common welth, and endomageth the person selse: whiche is this cursed south, and ydeines that distroyeth them that be good, a bitterly bring methe

fome of thepric confpde be proin pou. DA dren, bi fas pet to styffet makefo be many whan w we thyn! wples. 3 feruaunt chyldzen nyaht wa that work pour own be, than to fto tauern Arcte to At ucllets to what pe De pe comme, What is p be not, the buc as top as brute be The cause Approx the d not applien

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geth to naught them that be vil. Sometime fectetely and halfe as in Sporte openly I haue abmony fhed a rebuked fome of pou, but I fe it proufite none of pou. On one fpbe the pricke of refon conftraineth me to chaftife pou : agern consportinge the malice of mankynde, all though that it be prompte to pil, fometyme I am Determyned to fuffre pou. Many tymes I wold with furie chaftife you as chiloren, but I do reframe it, confideringe that ye are yonge, as yet knowe not the wiles of the world: for they holde fo ftyffely together the yll with the yll, and amonge theym make fo areat a leage of byces with the bices, that there be many that do by aple suffre theym to be beapled, that whan we escape fro a lyttell wyle, and knowe the beapler, we thynke that we are bearled al redy with other greatte wyles. I have meruarlous areat compassion of you my feruauntes, speakinge to you as a lozde: and to you mp thylogen speaking as a father, for to se you al the day and nyaht wandrynge through Rome as lofte persones : and that worte of all is, I percepue that pe doo not percepue your owne perdition. what greatter beaffines can there be, than to fe you wander lyke foles from howfe to houfe, fro tauerne to tauerne, from one galinge to an other fro Arcte to Arete, fro place to place, fro play to playe, fro reucilers to reueilers ! And that more is, that ye know not. what pe defire, no, what pe wold, where pe go, no, whens re comme, what pleafethe you, or what displeafeth you: What is proufptable or loffe buto pou . Aor pe remem= be not, that ye were borne reasonable menne, and that ye buc as wylde folke amonge menne, and after fall ore as brute beaftes. fro whens wene pe that this cometh? The cause is the despre of beattelye moupnaes, not refps Aprice the despress of the lufte of pouthe, and aboue all not applience your mindes and willes to be wel ocupied. Take ethe

Take bede amonge you of my courte, and forgette not this. Daue pe no thought but to feke newe paffetimes, and to borow every daye! Ao man, of what condition fo ever he be, except he haunt feates of armes, or other lernynge in fome opbinarie exercyfe, fhall haue his body luftre and his fpirite quicke : but Chalbe acloped in al other thinges, and wander frome frete to frete, as a bacabounde. The harte of man is noble, and hathe power continuallye for all actes, and all pastimes of the bodge : and pet in three dapes it is annoyed of hom felfe alone, foo that with him can not reft one laudable exercple. Lyke as Jam empero; of all the worlde, foit is reason, and muste nedes be, that Thave folke of all nacions in my palays. And suche as the prince is, luche chalbe his householde, as his house is, fo thall his courte be, a as the courte is, fo that the hole empire be. for this caufe a kynge oughte to be ryghte ho: nefte: his boule wel ozbered and ruled, his officers, well lerned, and his courte well kepte in awe. Df mp good life Dependeth their good lyues, and confequetly the pl liues. Euery nation lerneth in their particuler scoles, The Sytiens in Babylon : the Derfians in Dozkes: the Indiens in Dlympe: the Caldees in Thebes: the Grekes in Athenes: the Bebrewes in Belve: the Latines in Samie: the frenche men in Daliance, the Spaniardes in Gades:and thep all to gether in Rome. The bniverfall scole of all the worlde is the persone, the house, and court of a prince. As we emperours do far, the fame woll our fubiectes fap: as we bo, they wyl bo: that we forfake, they wyll leave: pf we lefe our felfes, they wyl lofe them felfes : if we win, they wyl winne: and finally our welth is theyr welth, and our harme is their harme. Truely the prince is bounde to kepe his owne persone honeftly and well befone, his hous and courte fo well ruled, that all they that thall fe it, may baue

bauet that he bs tak that th londes mpnge may he mes.n men,th ues of arcater Justice and ho of the b poell for full, th empero; des: 200 to afke i them the the poor led, and men, and ters do b out break many gr cis and le greuouse pardon n chastife a Mulde de

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have delyre to folowe and do therafter: and that all they that here therof may Delyre to le it. Take ye hebe, and let bs take hede: Haue ye in mynd, and let bs haue in mind. that they which be of ftrage landes, going through ftrage londes in to frange londes, by they; great trauarles comynge to have and demaunde fuccour and remedy of bs. may have no cause to report any sclanders of our vi custo= mes. What thing more monstruous can be nopsed among inen, then that they hulbe come and complayn of the the= ues of their countreis to the theues of my courte? what greater hame and inconvenience can be, than to bemand Justice of they menfleers, of the mankyllers of my court and house e what crueltie were so cruell as to complayne of the bagaboundes of thep; londes, to the flouthfull and poell folke of mi house e what thinge can be moze framefull, than to come to accuse them that have sayoe pile of emperozs, before them that every day blaspheme the god= des : What thyinge can be moze inhumagne, than to come to afke tuffice on hym that hath transacelled but ones, of them that neuer dyd good warkes . Truely in luche cale the pooze men fulde retourne with they ignozance begi= led, and we fhulde tarie with our cruell malyce fhamed of men, and culpable befoze god. D howe many fmall matters do we chastife in men of smal reputation, which with out breakinge of Austice we might forbeare ; and howe many great thyinges do the goddis fuffee in the hpe puincis and lordes, the which not without Justice they maye greuoufely punifpe: and by that cruell men as cruell, can pardon nothynge: and the goddes pytefull fcantcly wyll chastife any thyinge. Yet for all this, I wolde that none shulde decepue him felfe, for though the goddis forbeate they inturies, pet they leave theym not bupunished, by fraunge Juftice, The goddis ben in their chaftifementes as

as he that grueth a blowe to an other, the hyer that he lifteth his hande, the greatter is the stroke on the cheke. By semblable wife the mo yeres that they sozbere our synnes, the moze afterwarde do they hurte be with prines. Tructive I have sene the goddes druerse tymes to druers persones sozbeare druers synnes a greatte whyle, but at the laste I have seene they mall bowares chassised with one chastisemente.

Dowe the emperour wolde haue them of his courte to lyue.cap.grb.

Ithe that the goddes have orderned, and my fatall bestenies haue permptted, that I Chuld be chofen emperour (not to flouthfull) I haue laboured all that I myghte, to bplite the em: pire, pelyttel ponge folkes that are here, were apuen to me of pour fathers, for to nouriffe you in my palaps. And for you that ar bigger I was delpred to recepue you, In hope to have arftes and rewardes, and other 7 brode chuse to do my service. The intention of the fathers, when therbring they, children to the courte of princes, is to put them from daliance of they? frendes, and banifie theym from the wantonnes of they; mothers . And me femeth it is well bone, for the chyloren from they pouthe oughte to apue them felfe to trauaple, wherby they ought to lyue, and relifte the diffauour and falles of fortune . pe are not come from pour countres to lerne the bices of Rome, but to lerne many good maners that are in Rome, and leave the pll maners of pour landes. All that Doo not this, and forfake trauaple : grue them felfe to berpe ibelnes . The meferable Kome hath moze nebe of labources foz to las bour, than of lozdes and habytauntes Patriciens, that

bpl bu pou, th upng, nowea of gool be four of bices 3 prap dispopl tapnes D0268 8 ches ? b by day, barmes Ttalp [persone so full o but one peth the ters thy bote th wherin : and the goodnel a wakin bice of f there is afite, at mongea

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wpl but paffe the tyme in refte and pleafures . I fweare to pou, that not for werpinge the armes with the craft of weupng, and the fy ngers with spinning, the boadel howses nowe a dayes are fuller of poel women, than the churches of good prieftes. Ind I (were agapue, that eafelper maye be founde. r. A. pll women in Rome to ferue in pleafure of bices, than . r. 99. good men to ferue in the churches. I pray you who fleeth the marchantes in hye wayse who dispopleth wayfaringe men and pilgrimes on the mountapnes ? Who piketh the lockes and breketh honest mens bozes and windowes ? who robbe by Arengthe the churches : but these lewtrynge theues, whiche wyll not labour by day, but dispose them to rob by night. D Rome, what harmes come to the for one onely eurll ? Who hath fylled Italy fo full of lofte people, the palays foo full of bnable persones, the mountagnes soo ful of theues, the tauernes to full of pl wome, and enery place to ful of bacabundes e but one, the canker of poelnes and flouth, whiche bestropeth the good costumes more than the wyndes and wa= ters then olde wome walles. Beleue me one thing, for 3 wote that I fap trouth therin, that the craft of weauing, wherin al the naughty bilaines are wouen and wought, and the feede of all buhappre brees, the flydringe of all goodnesse, the fallynge of all thepm that be eupll, and the a wakinge and prouokinge of al thefe, is but this fowle bice of flouthe and welneffe. And more over I fave, that there is noo bice amonge all bices, that bredeth foo great a fire, and caufeth foo continualle a fpckeneffe of flepe a= monge aaged folke, and that puttethe good folke in foo great perpile, and both foo moche bomage to thepm that be euplias both ydelnes. Who is it that caufethe fedytion amonge, the people and fclaunder in realmes, but thep that refte and Doo nothenge: bicaufe they wolde eate the M.u. foode

foode gotten by Iweat of them that labour : who is it that fondeth newe invencions of tributes and forame exactiong, but yoel men, the which bycause they wyl not worke with thep; handes, finde profite with infinite exactions ? who maketh discetion betwene neighbours but idel folk? they beuide they pile amonge they neighbours, bycaufe they occupie not their forces in good workes, nor refreine their tongues to clatter of other mens lives: who imagis neth in these dares so many malices in Rome, the whiche was never harde of our fathers, nor redde in our bokes: but bacabundes that neyther applye nog lette their wittes about nothing cls: but thinke howe to endomage other? The emperour that coude banifpe all thefe poell perfons out of his empire, myaht wel auant hun felfe to haue op= pressed all the vices of the worlde. I wolde it pleased the emmortal goddis, that of fo many triumphis that I have habbe of straungers, occupied in good exercises, that I habbe fene one of the bacabundes of Rome dainen out of all houses. There was an auncient lawe, none myght be taken and recepued for a citilen in Kome, but he were firft examined by the Cenfure. In the time of Cato Cenforius when any wolde be a citiesen of Rome, this examination was made of him: He was not demaunded of whens he was, not what he was, not when he came, not wherfore he came, nozof what kinne oz auncient flocke he cam:but only they toke his handes betwene theirs, and if they felt them fofte and fmothe, forthewith as an roell bacabunde man they dispatched and fent him away: and if they found his handes barde and ful of harde knottis, by and by they admitted him a citesen and dweller of Rome. Alfo whan any officers toke any plooers and put them in pulon that was called Marmotine, in febe of information, the firft thringe that they toke bede of was they; hondes, whiche

if thep t though mitigat cháced t Marper hath go fap, 3 c fozit: 11 was gla forius, t in the fcl to their b of Kome baron, b todoplt what for manis, t her wort ly for his and the fi nes, that pleasures les of rep luche as ! batemen this lyfe, of many, inge of go wordes. 3 Choppe, th I had rat

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if they had bene as a labourers hande and a worke man, thoughe his crime were areuous vet his chaftilemet was mitigate, and more cafe: and if the buhabpppe prifoner chaced to have poel handes, for a littel faute he Chulo have harpe punifyement. It hath ben an old fareng : De that hath good handes, muste nedes have good customes . I fap, I chaftifed neuer labouringe man, but I was forie for it: nor I never caused to whyppe a bacabunde, but I was gladde ofit. I wpl tell pou moze of this Catho Cenforius, whiche was greately feared. for euen as chyloren in the scholes, herynge their mailter commynge in, renne to their bokes, So when Cato went throughe the ftretes of Rome, every body went to they worke. D right happy baron, before whom the people feared more to be idel, tha to do pl befoze many other. Than behold ye at this houre, what force bertue hath, and howe valiaunte a bertuous man is, feinge that all the worlde feared Rome onelp, for her worthynes in armes : and all Rome feared Cato one= ly for his bertues. The aduentures of men are fo byuers, and the suspecte fortune anueth so many ouerthwart tur= nes, that after that a great space she hathe gruen greatte pleasures, incontinent we are cyted to her subtyll trauatles of repentaunce. Dhappy Cato Cenfozine, who with fuche as have folowed his waves are nowe fure fro the a= batementes of fortune. Than be that wyll have glory in this lyfe, and attayne glory after beth, and to be beloued of many, and feared of all : let hym be bertuous in do= inge of good workes, and decepue noo man with varne wordes. I (weare buto you by the lawe of a man of wozhyppe, that if the goddes wolde accomplishe my delyre, That rather to be Cato with the vertuous policies that he bled in Rome, than to be Scipio with the abundannce of blode, that he shedde in Affrike. All we knowe wel, that M.iii. Scipio

Scipio habde a great fame in beatynge bowne of citres. and cuttynge innocentes throtes, and Catho hath attay= ned eternall memory in reforming the people, pardoning trespasours, and teachynge ignorante folke. may all fe, if I have not good reason, more to despre to be Cato to the profit of many, than to be Scipio to the preiu: byce of io many. Lo my frendes, thefe wordes Thaue fand bycaufe pe mape fee, that our predeceffours, fome in their ownelondes, other in ftrange londes, some beinge ponge, and fome olde, in thep; trimes had glorpe in their perfones for them felle: and for the world to come have left no leffe memorpe for thep fucceffours and offprpnge. Ind we bo all the contrary, I beinge emperour am lothe for to commande any pl, and our officers for they interest do wors. And where as we are fet in dyuerfe pleafures by our bice, we fal hourely in to dyners miferies, and at noted to out greate infamic. By the which occasion the full goddes for our bniufte workes, gruinge tufte fentence, commaunde that we lyue with suspection, ove with shame, and to be buried with forgettefulnes, neuer to be had in memore. Than you of my courte take good hebe, and paynte welle iny wordes in your mendes : for who fo euer I fe or fynde poel from hensforth, I bischarge hym out of mp feruice. pe that be lerned map write and rede pe that be men of armes and bupghtes, exercple you in feates of warre, pe that be officers, occupie you in your offices . And take this for certapne, that if pe take not this for a warninge and monition, that I have gruen you betwene you and me, the punphementes that I hall que bnto pou hall be openip. and to the entent that ye have it better in your memos ric, and to be a doctrone to papies hereafter to comme, this prefent practife and remonstrance Thave written in al tongues, and fet it in the hyghe Capitolle with manpe other

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than calle now name tight peri to them th lerine wer the gladne the Qumi trrit.perfo ennemies ! were thewe and as it is get on the f come home that merily athringe w ate appiret triumphes, other of my wyptinges. The goddis be kepers of you, and also they defende and kepe me from yll fortunes and misaduentures.

Df a maruaplous and feareful monfier that was feene in Scicile, and of his wip = tynges. cap.rrvi.



A the pere of the foundation of Rome bit. C.x. and xlit. of the age of Marcus the emperour, and it. peres before he toke possession of thempire, the x. day of the month Sextilis, which now is called August, about the tyme of the sonne settynge, in the realme of Speil,

than called Trinacrie, in a citte called Bellyne, on the fee now named Balerme, a post of the fe, there chaced a thing right perillous to them that fawe it, and no leffe fearcfull to them that (hall here it nowe. As they of Bellyne of Pa= lerine were then celebratyinge a feaste with great top: for the gladnes that their Dirates had ouercome the army of the Rumidiens, and had taken . r. of their flips, and caft tric persons into the see, bycause at that time they were ennemies eche to other, and for the yll workes they opdoe, were she wed the great passions that passed among them. and as it is the customme, the thinge that thefe prates get on the fee, they departe it amonge them all, whan they come home. And whan they comme to lande, they fpende that merily, that they gat with greatte trauaple. athynge well to be noted, howe all good and pile hartes ate applyed: The good men have greatte delyze to thep? triumphes, and couctous men to their lucte & winnyinge. Chus

Thus men ought to be beloued, though shortly after they

oughte to be abhorred . And allo they oughte to be abhoz= red, as though Mortely after they ought to be loued. Thus than the gouernours of the farbe citie commaunbed all the layde shyppes to be fequestred in to they owne handes, to the intente that they Moulde not be folde, no: the coneptous people to have the bantage in the brenge of them. The cause was, for the custome of the men of the ples was, that all thynges foulde be kepte to gether, buto the ende of the warre, o: at leaste tyll they had peace. This was a tufte lawe: for many tymes is made ftedfalte apporntementes bytwene greate enmyes, and not all onely for the aunciente hatred, but also for lacke of tycheste to fatisfie the prefente bomages . Than as all the people were withdrawe into they; houses about suppertyme, for it was fomer, fodenly there came a monfter in to the myd= Des of the citie after this fhape : De Cemed to be of two cu= bites of herabte, and he had but one ere, his beed was all pilled, fo that his feul myaht be fene : De had none eares, but that a lyttell of his necke was open, wherby it semed p he herd: De had two croked homes as a gote: Dis right arme was longer than the left: his handes were lpke hors fete: he had no throte: his necke was egall hith his heed: his Cholders Chone as pytche, his brefte and Comake was all roughe of heare, his face was loke a man, faufe it had but one eye in the myddes of his forheed, and had but one nofethepll: from the waste downewarde he was not fene, for it was couered : he fatte on a chariot with.iii. wheles, wherat were two lyons fastened to gether before, and two beares behinde: and it coude not be determined, wherof the chariotte was made, but there was no difference in facien therof and other that were bied commonlye : In the myddis of the layde chariotte was a caudion lyke a table mith

with th fore it b aboutir Spercles men wit thertha people ples of nate crie Depates Solpn. allthery ucr all th tes brou and bein the mont bloodett Thefe le giue Decl than thet o2 contra for her cra ters, fapt propria. is to fape. in peace p foze affra womā wa forthwith mountap

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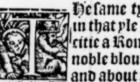
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with two cares, wheren the lapde monfler was : and ther= fore it was fene but fro the aproelftebe bywarde. De went about in the citte fro gate to gate a long fpace caftong out fpercles of frie. The feare was fo great, that bruces mo= men with chylde were delpuered with great perpli, and o= ther that were weake harted feli in a fwoune. And all the people great and smalle, leffe and moze, ranne to the tem= ples of Aupiter, Mars, and Phebus, makinge importunate cries and clamours. And the fame feafon all the faid Driates were lodged in the governours palayes named Solvn. De was of the nation of Capue, and there was all the rychelle kepte : and whan this monfter had ben o= ucr all the citie with his chariot, than the lyons and beates brought hym to the palays, where the Pyrates were, and beinge bery nyah to the gates that were fafte closed. the monfter cut an eare of one of the lyong, and with the bloode therof he waote thefe letters, R. A. S. D. J. D. Thefe letters were a profe to all thepin of hyah fpirpte to give Declaration of them: and there were mo Declarations than there were letters. But finally a woman biuinereffe. or contrary, afothfaper, that was had in great reputation for her craftes, made the bery declaration of the farde letters, fayinge thus. B. reddite. 3, aliena. S, fi bultis. 10. propria. I, in pace. 10, poffibere . Whiche all to gether is to fave. Render that perternethe to other, if ve wille Surely the Prates were in peace possesse pour owne. fore affraged of that decofull commaundemente: and the woma was greatly praifed for her hygh Declaration. Tha forthwith the same nyghte the monster went into a highe mountaine called as than Janitia, and there by the space of thre days was in the fight of all the citie: and in that feafon the lyons made great rozinge and howlynge, and the beares and monter bette out great fearefull flames. and

And all that feafon there neyther appered byth in the aire. not beafte in the feldes, and all the men offred great factis fices to the goddis, in luche wife that they brake the beynes of their handes and fete, and offered the blode, to fe if they might appeale their goddis. After the thre days pals fed fodeinly appered a clowde blacke and derke bpon the erthe, and it began to thunder and lyghten, with a greate erthe quake, fo that many howles fell in the cite, and mamy of the dwellers and citelins died . And than fodernelye there came a flame of free from the monfter, and beente all the palays, where the land Priates were, and the tychel= fes that were in it, fo that all was confumed in it, yea the pery flones: and the domage was fo great, that there fell mo than. ii. 99. houles, and there bred as good as.r. 90. perfons. And in the fame place on the toppe of the mountapne, where as the monfter was, theperour comanded to edific a temple to the god Jupiter, in memozy of the fame. Of the whiche temple themperour Alexander , haupnge warre with them of the realme, made a ftronge caftell.

Twhat befell to a citelen of Rome in the tyme of this emperour Marcus. Cap. rrbit.



Desame tyme that this adventure chaunced in that ple, there was dwellpinge in the fame citic a Romagne named Antygone, a lozde of noble bloudde, and fomewhat entred in age: and about two pere before , he, his topfe, and

a boughter of his were banythed Rome, and not his fonnes. The occasion was, There was an auncient laudable cuttome, fith Quintus Cincinatus Dictatour, that two of the auncient senatours togyther hulbe go with the cenfure newly created, and the olde, in the month of Decebie

for to be parte al and par if they k bzoken t to the fer ment aci habbe co fente per to amen ned, and to be are were the piter: 7 full men inge mei laide per aspl, do ftife then fred, bica they coti meth of f in the mo month of it was re giue or D not be ch pticular their dou Augusto

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for to bifite all Rome: and they to call enery Romanne as parte alone, frewynge bym the, rif, tables of their lates. and particular decrees of the fenate, Demandyng of them if they knewe any negabour in their quarter, that habbe broken these lawes. And if they byd, it shulde be informed to the fenate. And there all to arther to orderne punyfie= ment accordynge to the diversitye of the fautes that they habbe commytted : But the fautes commytted that piefente vere, they myabt not chaftyle, but to aduertife them to amende afterwarde. And all fuche as were ones war= ned, and in the nexte bisitation founde fielle bnamended. to be areuously punythed, and fomtime banythed. Thefe were the wordes of the lawe in the. b. table and third chapiter: It is orderned by the holy fenate, by confent of bliffull men, receputing the auncient colonies, that if men be= inge men in one pere do trefpas, the men as menne for the faide pere hall diffimule and forbere: but if they that be pl as vi, bo not amend, they that be good, as good, thal cha= file them. Alfo the fand law faith: the first fautes are fuf= fred, bicaufe they are comitted with weke ignozace: but if they cotinue them, & they be chastised, bicause their vll co= meth of flouth a malice. This inquilition was ever made in the moneth of Decebre, bicause that soone after in the month of Janiuer the offices of Rome were dinided. And it was reason, that they shuld knowe to whom they shuld giue or Denye their Dignities: to thentent that good fould not be chosen in stede of pl, nor the pl in stede of good. The pticular cause why they banyshed the man a his wife with their doughter was this: The fecond emperour of Rome August ozdeined, that none shuld be so hardy to pis at any bozes of the toples: and Caligula the. iiii.emperour commaded, that no woman fulloe apue any cedules to hange about the peoples neckes, to heale the feuer quartapne . D.II.

Ind Cato Cenfozine made a lawe, that noo manne noz ponge mayben fhulde fpeake togyther at the conduites of welles, where they fetched water, nozat the tyuer where they walhed their clothes, no; at the ouens whe re they ba= ked breade, bycause all the ponge people of Rome that were wolde and wanton ranne euer thoder. Soit befelle, that as the censures and consules bisited the quarter called mount Celio, there was a dweller named Antigonus accused, that he was sene pillynge against the temple wal of Dars : and his wyfe was accused, that the hadde solde cedules for feuer quartapnes: and lykewife his doughter was accused that the was sene at the conduites, truers, & ouens, fpehrng and laughing with ronge men of Bome: The whiche was a great hame to the mapdens of Rome. Than the censures seinge the pll order, that they had foud in the the house of the said Anthigone by the regesters, by due examinatio, being warned afoze, they were banished into the yles of Cycill, for as long as it thuld pleafe the fenate. And lpke as in edifices, fumptuous and of greatte estimation, one stone is not decapde or wirthed out with out hakynge og mouynge of an nother : euen lyke wyle is it in the chaunces of menne. for commonly one bnhap: pries chaunceth not, but an other folowethe. and I fare this bycause Anthigone lost not allonely his honour and welthe, but also he was banyshed, and bespoe that by the tremblynge of the erthe his house fell downe, and dewe a welbeloued doughter of his . And all the whyle that this was done at Rome, and & that befell of the monfter in Cp= cill. Darke the emperour was in the warres against the Aragons, and there he recepued a letter from Antygone, wherin was reherfed his banyfynge, wherof the empe cont habde greatte compassion, and to comfort hym, fente bym an other letter.

dured th rough or the Rom distroped gainfte ti as tyche the writer theym the of them th wyll falle Komarns first thep ! fro heuen talpe, in a fodernelp was decla barre, an tetourned out of Ro npght a fo was bathe Of the wh dwellers i

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Df a great pestilence that was in Italy in this emperours tyme. Cap. rrbiii.

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Jue pere after the dethe of Anthony the meke, father in law to Marcus Aurelius, and father to Faustine, there felle a pestulence in Italye. And it was one of the. b. great pestylences a monge the Romayne people. This most alitie

dured the space of two peres, and it was butuerfalle thorough out all Italy, to the great domage and feare of all the Romains, for they thought that the goddis wold have distroyed them, for some displeasure that they had done a= gainfte them. There byed foo many, as well of great effat, as tyche and pooze, greate and fmall, pong and olde, that the writers had leffe trauaple to write the small nombre of theym that were lefte alrue, than to wayte the multitude of them that were oced. Lyke as whan a great buyldynge will falle, firfte there falleth fome ftone : In like wife the Romarns neuer had no great peltilence in their tyme, but first they were theetned with some token, signe, or producte fro heuen. Two pere befoze that Daniball entred into 1talye, in an euenynge, whan the wether was clere a faire, sodernely it rayned bloudde and mylke in Rome. Ind it was declared by a woman, that the blode betokened cruel warre, and the mylbe a mortall peltilence. Whan Scilla tetourned from Champarne, to put Marius his ennemie out of Rome, his men of warre and anyghtes fawe in a night a fountaine that ranne bloudde, and who foo euer was bathed therin, femed to be poploned with benyme. Of the whiche prodigie folowed, that of. ii. C. and. I. 99. dwellers in Rome, what with theym that dred with the fwerde, and other confumed by peftilence, were confumed with Scilla, and of them that fleode with Marius, of the D.III. farde

faid greate multitude of Romayns, there abode alpue no mo but. rl. 99. perfons. Certaynely Rome neuer receiued fo great domage in. bi. C. peres befoze, as they bydde by their owne propre people. All the tyrauntes were neue foo cruell ageinft ftrange landes, as the Romanns were than ageinst their owne propie landes. And this semethe to be true, bycaufe the fame day y Sylla paffed through Rome with his blody [werde, a capitarn of his fard to hom: Sit Scylla, if we flee them that beare armour in the feldes, & them that bere no armour in their houses, with whom that we lyue! I conture the by the hie goddes, foth we be borne of women, let by not flee the women:and fithe we be men, let be not flee the men. Thou thynkeft that in fleinge all the Romannes to make a comon welthe of beaftes of the mountagnes. Thou entreft with a crie to Defende the common welthe, and to put out the tyrantes that diffrope the common welth, and we do remanne trauntes our felfes. To myne binder landping that capitagen merited as great glozie for the good wordes that he fpake, as Scilla bydde merite chastifement for the crueltie that he opd . This we haue fapd, bycaufe that ere fuche bamages byd fall, there proceded before certapne prodigies and tokens . Ro leffe token was shewid before the mortalite that fel in the time of this good emperour, the whiche was a fearefull thing. The cafe was fo: On a day as themperour was at the te ple of the birgins Westales, sodepnip there entred in two hogges, and ranne aboute his fete, and there felle downe beed: and on an other day as he came from the hyghe capptoll, for to haue gone out at the gate Salaire, he fame two kytes toyninge to gether with their talantes: and foo fell down deed at the emperours fete. And within a Moste whyle og feafon after, as the fayd emperour came fro huntynge, his houndes rennyng at a wyld beafte, as he gaue two

two are hisowi Than t hounde affembl bynge b thinges that wit uous pt after, th there fel the Ron arme pit perour a gan to be pet he wa to leue 18 the citie o that the p

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gette hym tyme, but i was not or lo of aunci Ind he thu two greyhoundes that he loued wel, water to drinke with his owne handes, sodeinly they fel downe deed at his fete. Than he remembering the fwyne, the kytes, and the greyhoundes beed to fodepnly, he was greatly difmared, and affembled all his preftes, magittens, and diuines, Demabringe what they fayo to the prodigies, and they by those thinges paffed, sudged the dede prefente, and determined that within two yeres the goddis wold sende great agre= nous punyhementes to Rome. Than within hoat while after, there began a warre agaynst the Parthes, wherby there fel the pere after great famph and pestilence among the Romanns. This peltilence came with fozes bnder the arme pittes, fo that al the fenate fledde away, and the em= perour alone above fyll in the capitoll. Than the avie began to be fo corrupte, that though he scaped the pettilence, pet he was bered with hote feuers. wherfoze he was favn to leve Rome, and went in to Champayn: and fpnally in the citie of Paples he made his above duringe the tyme that the peltilence was in Rome.

Thowe Mar. answered his phisitiens that wold have him leave his ftudie. Cap. rrig.

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He emperour beynge in the layde cytic of Aaples, where as other lought pastyme to conferue their lyues, this emperour occupied him leste in his bokes to augment science. A man coude do hym no better service, than to seke to

gette hym a newe boke: not suche as was written in his tyme, but such as were forgotten for age. This emperour was not onely a louer of olde and antyke bokes, but also of auncient estories, and set very great store by theym: Ind he thus beinge in this cytic sycke and very ylat ease, there

there was brought to hym out of a citie of Alia called he-Ita, by certayne Debzewes, a boke written in Debzew: a be toke fuche pleafure in that boke, that oft tymes he wolde leave his meate and goo to ftudy: and for all that he was in his hote feuer, he wolde not leave to rede, for all that his philitiens warned bym, and his frendes prayed him: and they that were aboute hym, counsayled hym, and Demaunded hym, why he left to procure the helth of his perfone in fo moche redpinge. De auni wered : 23p the goddis that we honour I consure you, and for the frend flyp that is betwene bs, I prap pou lette me alone. Ye knowe wel, that fuche as are of a Delpcate bloode, have not fo moche folycitude as the rufticall people, that have hard finewes and be of a moze harder complexion. Lyke maner they of clere biberftandynge haue nebe of other medicines , and to be heled with other frapes that they of groffe biderftas Dynge. This is the Differece that I haue of epther of them: The pocot kepeth opete frome bokes, and reftethe on his meate, and the wife man abhorreth meate, and drawethe hym to his bokes. If they knewe, that knowe not, what thyinge knowlege is, I (weare to you, they shulbe fe what auapleth moze the lptell knowlege that a wpfe man hath, than the greatte tyches of the tyche man. for the mpfcrable tyche persone, the moze that he encreaseth in tycheste, the moze he dumpny Meth in frendes, and growethe in ennemies to his domage. And he that is wyttie, the wyfet that he is, the better he is beloued of them that be good, & fearco of them that be pil for his profite. One of the thynges, wherin I holde mp felfe mofte bounde to the goddis is this, that they have caused me to compas the tyme as I have done, the whiche is no lyttel gyft foz a man to lyue in this worlde. I far it is, breaufe I have had great compassion of the poore, that be very poore, of wpdowes, of them

them t But b fion of menne goddig fulle m aliaeno aman, tuc. In but mai tugmen first cau Dyuers bertues the fimp good inc med, by werkes t and repu epahte re confonar pll in this mong the with me, content t bes : pe th 7 repute and be ibe tapne in n great pelt

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them that be forowfull and buhappy, and of Dipheling. But without comparpion I have bab greatteft compaffron of them that lack knowlege. for the goddis making menne ignozant by naturalitie, myghte haue mabe thepin goddis by connynge and knowlege: and as the flouthefulle men are tamed and made lelle than men by their nes aligence, fo certianly bleffed he is that is not content to be aman, but if he procure to be more than a man by his ber= tuc. And curfed is that man that knoweth not to be a ma. but maketh bim felfe leffe than a man by his bice . By the tuament of all philosophers, there is but one, that is the first cause, whiche is one god immortalle : and if there be bruers goddis in the heuens, it is bicaufe there are divers bertues in the erthe. And in the worlde that is pafte whan the fimple men were feruauntes and bonde men, and the good men rulers and gouernours, they were then fo effemed, bycaufe they were knowen and renowmed in good werkes whanne they loued. So that they were holden and reputed as goddis after they beathe . This is the tyahte rewarde that commethe of bertue. It is a thringe confonant to reasone, they that be good amonge so many pil in this lyfe, that thep fhulbe be greattely honoured among the goddis after their deathe. Ye are not wel contet with me, bycaule I am alwaye redyinge : but I am worfe content with you, breaufe I neuer fe one bake in your has beg: pe thinke it gret trauaple to a fycke man to rede, and Trepute it a bery perillous thinge for a hole man to refte and be idell. Ye fap mp redpinge is cause of my feuer quar= tarne in my flefthe: and I fare that poelnes engendzethe areat petitlence. Sopth I map profite by mp bokes, let no man have compassion of mp trauaple. for Toefice rather to ope as a wife perfon amonge wife men, than to lyue ig= notantly amonge men. I demaunde one thonge of you! A man

A man prefuminge to be a man and not lerned, what oveference is betwene hym and other beaftes. Tertapnly the beaftes are moze profitable to labour the crthe, than fpm= ple perfons be to ferue the common welthe. I poze ore ap= ueth his farnne to make fhone, his flelhe to be eaten, and his ftrength to labour : and a pooze fymple fhepe both pro fite, his flece and woll to make clothe, and mylke to make chefe: But what profitcth a folyfhe iDeote man! Aothing but offendeth the goddig, sclaundereth innocentig, eateth the breade of other, and is chiefe heed of bacabundes. Df trouth if it lap in my handes, I had rather grue lyfe to a fyinple ore, than to a malycious ideot. for the beaft lineth fo; the bulitie of dyners, without boinge bomage to any other: and the simple ideot man lyueth to the domage of all other, and without profite to any personne. Therfore thinke well why I am not pleased with theym that be ignozant, and love them that be lerned. Harke fris, what I hall hewe you : That man semethe good, that is meke and gentpli of condition, lofte in wordes; and relifulle in his perfone, and gracious in conucrfation: and contrary wife, that persone some displeaseth me, that is tharpe of wordes, foore moued in his werkes, riottous in his cons Dition, and double of his promys, and harde harted . Als fo I fap, that if any thong fayleth a wife man by nature, be supplyeth it by science: and he that is ignorant and for lpfbe, if he faileth discretion, he supplyeth therto his malice. And trust pe furely, that a worthy bertuous matherby becomethe wife, and he is to be trufted: and he that is of an other maner beware of hpm, for he goethe aboute to fell his malice. He that wel begile an other, the first thing that he both is, he feweth bym felfe to be fimple and ignozaunt . for a man beinge in credence mave Coone fpred abrode his malyce. Thefe mothes and fofce wormes frete the

freate



content weth, be lozde ou chofen, t to be app fter than to know frapne bi perfon be The gree areatter e taynly the aboue all be hnower befautes t for ignora uers, 7 inf ceth away ons, that t fclanzeth'e me, the day pitol: D Ro

dame to all

freate the clothe: and the canker worme perfeth the bone, and flatering men begyle all the worlde.

Thowe Ccience ought to be in paincis. Cap . rrr.

He laid emperour folowing his purpole, laid:
Frendes beholde, howe greate domage ignorance dothe to all men. And thoughe it be domageable to enery man, yet it is most hurtefull to a prince, whiche oughte not onely to be

full to a prince, whiche oughte not onely to be content to knowe as moche as any other wife person kno= weth, but to knowe that every man knoweth, fithe he is lozde ouer all other. To my jugement thefe princis are not chofen, that they hulbe eate moze mete than all other, noz to be apparepled tychelyer than all other, no; to renne fafer than all other: but with presupposition of they oughte to knowe more than all other. Whanne a prince write reframe his fenfualitie, than he oughte to regarde, that his person be righte honest, and remembre this worde that is: The greatter that a prince is of power about other, the greatter oughte his bertue to be aboue all other. for certaynly the greatteft infamie is , to fea man mofte mighty aboue all other and most eryche of all other, and than to be knowen an ideot and leffe of knowlege than other. 31 befautes in a gouernour map be bozne faufe ignozaunce, for ignorace in a prince is a froke of peftilice: a it fleeth of uers, a infecteth al persons, a bnpcopleth the realme, cha ceth away fredes, agineth hart to enmies of frang nati= ons, that were in bed, a finally bomageth his plon, and fclawethreuery one. wha Camill triuphed ouer the frech= me, the day of his triuph he wrote thele wordes in the capitol: D Rome, thou haft ben moder of al wife men, a fleps dame to al foles. Thefe were worthy words of fuch a lord.

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and but if my remembrance begyle me, certapnely Rome was more renowmed for wyle perfons that came thyther, than for the featis of warre that were fente frome thenfe. Dur auncient Romaynes were moze feared foz their byfe bome and knowlege, than for their conqueftes. Al the erth feared them moze that tourned leaves of bokes in Rome, than they that were armed with armour . for that cause Rome was neuer banquifbed : and thoughe their armies were beupded and broken, pet they neuer lacked wyfe me. I can not fay it without teares, Kome is fallen frome the moft hight of her eftate: not for faut of money and armes for to fight withall, but for lacke of wple men, and bertuous for to gouerne. Dur forefathers wanne lyke men, and we lefe lyke fimple children: al thingesthat are befired of men, they atterne by trauaple, fusterne with thought, and Departe fro with great annoyance. And the reason is this: There is nothynge so good noz soo well beloued, but the cours of tyme caufeth bs to leave it, and to difpaple and abhorre it, or be wery therof. This is the bayne banity of the worlde, and loft tyme loft : for with their your Defires they do refrance their delires. They wolde oftentymes attarne a thinge, and after they fludy how to goo therfrod gayne. And yet to thewe further their lyohtnes, that that cost moche, they grue for a lyttell price. That they love at one tyme, they hate at an other : and that that they with great flubp and labour haue attapned, with greatte fury they forgo. And me thinketh this is the ordinaunce of the goddis, that he that loueth Chall have an ende, and it that is beloved thall take an ende : and the tyme that we are in thall ende. Than it is reasone, that the love wher with we do loue, Chall ende in lpkewple. Than our appetiteis fo diffonelt, that in feing we delire it, and in belirping we procure it : and in procurpinge we attapu it : and in the attapning

taynyng and tha and that bile, the agepnet agernto both end of wifed to a man had take paft as q fent, and that he ki loupnge ueth. fin with trau haue not fozitis a ger, and o that thou nour amo am I rpgi glozioufly maundeor ked in that bled in tha compaffed with thoug whan I an accompani bokese In also there 3 there prude taynynge we abhorce it: and in abhorrynge, we leave it: and than forthwith agaphe we procure an other thonge. and that newe procuringe we abhorre agerne : In fuche wife, that whan we begynne to loue a thynge, than we fal acepne to hate it, and in the fallpinge to hate it, we begin ageyn to loue an other thyng. So thus finalty out lyfe both ende, er our couetple bothe leaue bs. It is not thus of wifeboine and knowledge, the which if it ones entre into a mans hart, it caufeth hym to forget the trauaple y be had taken in the attaphyng therof. foz he taketh the tyme paft as good, and entoyeth with rightfull top the tyme pre fent, and hathe poelnes in hate. Por is not contente with that he knoweth, but enforceth his appetite to know more, lournge that other leauethe: and leaurnge that other toueth. finally be p is perfitly wife, fporteth in this worlbe with trauaple, and in traueling in bokes is his refte. we have not to fay of all thinges, but of that we fele of them. for it is an other maner to fpeake by fimilitude of a fran ger, and of our owne experience. Ind in this cafe I fape, that though we hope of no rewarde of the goddis, no; honour amonge men, noz memozie of the world to come: pet am I right gladde to be al onely a philosopher, to se how glozioully the philosophers have palled their tyme. I Demaunde one thinge, whan myne bnderstandyng is obfusked in that I have to bo, and whan inp inemore is troubled in that I have to betermine, and whan my bodge is compaffed with bolours, and whan my harte is charged with thoughtis, and whan I am without knowlege, and whan I am fet aboute with perpls, where can I be better accompanied than with wife men,ozels rebyinge amonge bokese In bokes I fond wpfebom, wherby I may terne: allo there I fynd worthpries; which I map folowe: I find there paudence to councell me, I fonde fuche as be fogows Ditt.

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full, with whom I map were: I finde there them that be merp, with whom I mave laughe: I fpnde there fpmple folke, at whom I may fporte : I fynde that is noughte, whiche I mave leave: Ind finallye in writinge I fynde, howe in prosperitie Toughte to behaue me : and howe in aduerlitie Toughte to guyde me. D howe happy is that man that bath wel reode : And pet moze happy is he, that though he knoweth moche, pet flaveth bpon counfel. Ind if this betrue generally, than moche moze is it necessary, that he kepe the tru way, which governeth al other. It is a rule infallible, that a prince being wpfe, can neuer be fims ply good, but bery good: and the prince that is ignorante, can not be fimply pll, but bery pl. A prince that is not wel fortunate, his wyledome may greatly excuse hym to his people of his inplfortune given to him by fortune. Whan a prince is greatly beloued of his comontie, and is bertuous of his persone, than every man farthe, if he have not good fortune: Al though our prince wat good fortune, pet his weithy bertues fayle not : and though he be not haps pp in his ententes, pet at the leaft he Meweth his wylcdom in the meane feafon: and thoughe fortune Denne hom at one howie, pet at an other tyme (he agreeth by bis wyle-Dome. Ind contrary wife an bumple prince, and hated of bis people, by limitre fortune renneth into great perplle. fortfpllfuccede to him in weighty matters, than incom tinent it thalbe fapd, it is by reason of the ignorace of him felfe, of by pil councell of fuch as be about hym: a if goodnes luccede to hym, it hall not be attributed by reason of his good gouernance, but that fortune hathe fuffered it, and not by the circumfpect wifedome that he hathe habbe in the meane leafone, but that it was of the pitte that the goddis had of hom, Than lithe it is thus, a vertuous & worthy prince in his ydell tymes oughte fecretely to rede in bos

in bokes men. At their con amonge esteme the that their chandise wyse ma wys not con for all the the boke have con or of their

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rede 160= in bokes, and openly to common and councell with wyle men. And in cale yll fortune wyll not permyt hym to take their councelles, yet at the least the hall recover crevence amonge his subjectes. I wyll saye no more to you, but I esteme the knowlege of a wyle persone, so that if I knewe that there were shops of sciences, as there is of other marchandise, I wold give al that I have onely to terne that a wyse manne serneth in one daye. Aynally I saye, that I wyl not give that systell that I have serned in one houre, so all the golde in the words: and more glorye have I of the bokes that I have redde, and of suche workes as I have composed, than of all the victories that I have had, or of the realmes that I have wonne.

Twhat a bilapne layde to the lenatours of Kome in the prelence of the emperour. Cap. rrrt.

his emperour being sicke, as it is aforesaid, on a day as there were with hym diners phistitiens a oratours, there was a purpose moude among them, how gretly Kome was changed, not all onely in edifices but also in custo-

mes, a was ful of flaterers, a bopepled of men y durft lap the trouth. Than the emperour laph: The fyrtepere y I was colull, there cam a poose vilayof to the ciner of Danubie to aske tustice of the senate apentra colure, who dyd diners extortions to the people : and he had a small face a great lippes, a holow cied, his here curled, a bare heeded, his shoes of a porkepes skyn, his cote of gotis heare, his gitdel of bul rushes, a wild egiatine in his hande, it was alrang thing to be him so monstruous, and meruaple to here his purpose. Certainly whan I saw him com into the senate, I wend it had ben som beest in the figure of a ma.

And after I had harde hym, I juged hym one of the goddes, if there be goddis amonge men. And as the cuftome in the lenate was, that the complayntes of the poore perfons were hard before the requeltis of the ryche: this billarne had lycence to fpeake, and fo beganne his purpofe, wherin he fewed hom felfe as bolbe, as extreme & bafein his aray, and favo: D pe ancient fathers and happy peos ple, I Dyles dwellynge on the truets and cityes of the flubbe of Damuble Do falute pou fenatours that are here affembled in the facred fenate. The dedes permytteth, and the goddis fuffreth, that the captayns of Rome with their great pride have reduced binder Subjection the binhappre people of Germany. Great is the glozie of you Romanns for your battayles that ye have wonne throughout all the worlde. But if wepters fave tru, moze greter hall be pout infamp in tyme to com, for the cruelties that ye have Done to the innocentes. My predecessours had people nigh to the flode of Danubie, and bycaufe they byd pile, the erthe wared due, and they drewe to the freshe water: than the water was nopfull to them, and they returned to the ferm land. What thall I fay than your couetyfe is fo great to haue fraungers goodes, and pour pride fo renoumed, to commaunde all frange landes, that the fee mape not pio fite be in the depenes therof, no; the erthe to affure bem the caues therof. Therfore I hope in the iuft goodis, that as pe without reason have cafte be out of our houses and poffeffions: that other fall come, that by reason fal caft pou out of Italy and Rome. And an infallyble rule it is, that he that raketh an other mans good. (bal lefe the right of his owne. Regard re Komains, though I be a bilarne, pet I knowe who is tufte and right wife in holoringe his owne: and who a trant, in pollellinge others. There is a rule, that what so ever they that be yll have gathered in many

contr baps, leue n the br tufte l them t foone: them a thinge ken fre goodig Mulde bertuo an othe keppno he feeth neibout that hel fon in p and cul free of h lpbettie pooze, f femeth t whether well cha trahtin to bucer and dre ! tion to g

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many dayes, the goddis taketh fro them in one day: and contrarie wife all that ever the good have lofte in manye bays, the goddis restoreth to them agapue in one day. Be= leue me in one thynge, and have no doute therin, that of the volaufull winning of the fathers, there foloweth the tufte loffe to thep; chplozen. And if the goddes take from them that be yll enery thyinge that they have wonne, as foone as it is wonne, it were but reasone, but in lettyinge them alone, therby they affemble by lyttel and lytel divers thinges, and than whan they thynke leaste theron, is taken from them all at ones . This is a just jugement of the goddis, that lith they have done yll to dyuetle, that some hulde do pll to them. Certapnely it is not possible to any bertuous man, if he be bertuous, that he take any tafte in an other mans good. And I am foze abafhed how a man keppinge an other mans good, can lyue one houre. Sorth he feeth that he bath done infure to p goddis, scladed his neibours, plefed his enmies, loft his frendes, greued them that he hath robbed, and aboue al hath put his owne perfon in perpll. This is a hamefull thonge amonge men, and culpable before the goddis, the man that hath the defree of his harte, and the beydelle of his warkes at fuche lubertie, that the luttel that he taketh and robbeth fro the pooze, femeth moche to hym: but a great dele of his owne femeth to hom but lyttel. D what an bnhappy man is be. whether he be areke or latyn, that without consideration well change his good fame into Mame, iustice into wiog, tratt into tranny, or trouth into lefringe, the certarn into bucertayne, haupinge annopance of his owne goodes. and ope for other mens ! De that hath his principal intention to gather goodes for his chyloren, and feke not for a good name amonge them that be good: It is a full caufe that he lefe all his goodes, and fo without good name to be

to be Chamefull amonge them that be pl. Let all couctons and auaricious people knowe, that neuer amonge noble men was gotten good renoume with fpzedyng abzode of pll gotten goodes. It can not endure many dapes, no; pet be hydden under couert manye peres : a man to be holden tyche amonge them that be tyche, and a honozable man amonge them that be honorable : foz he fhalbe infamed of that he hath gathered his tyches with greate couetyle, oz kepeth it with extreme auarice. Dif thefe couetous people were as couctous of they owne honour, as they be of other mens goodes: I (were to you, that the lyttel worm o; moth that eateth the gounes o; clothes of luche couctous people. Quide not ete the refte of they? lyfe, no? the canker of infamie diffrore they; goode name and faame at they? deathes. Darke ve Romaines, harke what I wil fap, I wolde to the goddis, that re coude taffe it. I fe that all the worlde hateth pride, and pet is there none that foloweth mekenes and humilitie. Euery man condemnethe aduoutrie and pet I fee none that liueth chafte : Guery man curleth excelle, and I fe none live temperately : eucty man prayleth pacience, and I fe none that will fuffre : euery man blameth flouth, and I fe none but they be poel: every one blameth avarice, and yet every body robbeth. One thringe I fap, and not without weppinge: I fap eue: ry man with his tongue onely prayleth bettue, and yet they them felfes with all they lymmes are fernantes buto bices. I far nat this onely for the Bomarnes, whiche bene in Allurie: but I far it by the fenatours that I fe in the lenate. All ve Romannes in your deuifes aboute pout armes beare thefe wordes : Romanorum eft debellare superbos, et parcere subiectis, That is, it partaineth to Romapnes to subdewe them that be proude, and to foravue subjectes. But certainely pe mape better laye: hit partaineth to Ro= maines

main fully; of pea they f

bspot ourob haue p o: hau anne a hath a oureni his tell entike **Subiect** pour ti and mi the crue our peo care no che.pet hath bu him y b fecrete t

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mains to expelle innocentes, a to trrouble a vere wrong = fully pealible people: for ye Romains are but destroyers of pealible people, and theres to robbe frome other, that they sweate for.

De dyuerle other thynges that the vilayne layd befoze the lenate.ca.xxxii.

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Ye Komapnes, said this villagne, what action have pe, that are brought up nyghe to the ryuer of Thyber, against by that are nyghe to the ryuer of Danubie: Pauc pe sene us frendes to your ennember ? or have we declared

bs your ennempes : o: have pe harde, that we have lefte our ownclande; and inhabited any fraungelondes e 02 have pe harde, that we have rebelled agapuft our lozdes, o; haue troubled any ftrange realmes : o; haue ve fent bs anye ambaffadours, to delyre bs to be your frendes e 02 hath any hofte of ours come to Kome to diffroge you, as our enmies? oz hath any kinge dred in our realme, that in his testament made you herres to our realme ? 02 what antike lawe have ye founde, wherby we ought to be your subiectes ! Of trouthe in Almayne hereby they have felte your tirannie, as wel as we have herde of your renoume, And more ouer I fay, that the names of the Romayns, & the crueltie of trantes arrued to gether in one dave boon our people. I wote not what pe wyll fap, that the goddes care not for the hardines of me: for I fe y he that hath mo= the pet both be tirang to him that hath but lytel. Ind be \$ bath but lytel, though it be to his infamy, yet he wyl ferue him y hath moch. So that difozdred me appoint the with fecrete malice & fecrete malice giucth place to ope theft: and to the open robbery no ma relifteth. Ind therfore it co meth, that the couetife of anyll man necessarily is habbe 10 .ii. to be

to be complete to the prejudice of manye good men . One thynge I wyl fay, that eyther the goddes ought to thinke howe these men shall have an ende, or elles that the world must ende: ozels the worlde to be no worlde: De fortune muste holde fure with you, if all that ye have won in. biii. C.peres pe lefe not in. biti. Dapes . And where as pe are become loades ouer many, re shall become flaues to all the worlde. Certapuely the goddis fall be buinfte, with out that thrnge come that muste fal to the worlde hereafter. for that man that maketh him felfe a tirant par force, tt is righte that he retourne to be a sclaue by Justice. And it is reason, that sith ve have taken our myserable lande, that ye kepe be in Juftice. I have meruaple of you Ros mayns, to sende so symple persons to be our juges. for I fwere to the goddis, they can not beclare your lawes, no; bnderstonde oures. I wote not whether re sent them thrder of no, but I shall she we you, what they do there. They take openly what so ever is dely vered to them: and they boo their proufite with that they delyze in fecrete. chastise the pooze persone areuouselye, and they forbeare for money them that be tyche: they confent to many wronges, to byinge them after to the lawes, without goodes it boteth not to demande Juffice: and finally binder colour that they be inges bnder the senate of Kome, they say they may robbe all the londe. What is this re Romarns ! Mall pour pride neuer haue an ende in commandyng, nor your couctife in robbyinge? Save what pe woll . If pe do it for our chylozen, charge theym with irons, and make theym sclaucs: If pe do it for our goodes, go thyther and take them: If our feruice both not contente you, ftryke of our heedes. Why is not the knyfe fo cruelle in our throtes, as pour tyannies bein our hartes ! Doo ve knowe what pe haue done pe Romannes ! pe haue caufed bs, to fwere, neuer

neuc rath tes. foz.t ourc a lon tent t nistre and t bear furcs ofthe and 3 to Der to pre fapen to wa thoug that co all, cu bppor ter, an trine : of my why: I inpou people so sma most b

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neuer to returne to our wrues : but to flee our chylozen. rather than to leave them in the handes of fo cruel tirantes. We had leaver suffre the bestely motions of the fleshe for.rr. or. rrr. peres, than to dre without wounde leurna our children sclaues: pe ought not to do this pe Komains. A lond taken par force ought the better to be ruled, to the tent that the miferable captines, feinge Juffice Ducly mi= nistred to them, shuld therby forgette the tyranny passed, and to fet their hartes to perpetuall feruitude. And fothe we are come to complaying of the grefes that your Cenfures do boon the fludde of Danubie, peraduenture pou of the senate well here bg. Wote pe what they do? Harke and I hall thewe you . If there come a ryghte pooze man to bemande Juftice, hauping no money to grue, no; wine to present, nor ople to promise: they fede hym with wordes, favenge howe he Mall haue Tuftice: but they make hom to waste the lyttell that he hath, and grue hym nothynge, though he demande moche. And so the mpserable parsone that came to complayn, returneth complayninge on you all, curlinge his cruell destenies, and maketh exclamatio bopon the rightwife goddes. I lyue with acomes in winter, and cut downe the grene come in fommer, and fome=. tyme I go a fylhynge for pallyme, so that the molte parte of my layinge is fedynge in the feldes, and pe wote not why: here me, and I fhal fhewe you. I fe fuche tyzannies in pour censures, and suche robberies amonge the pooze people: and I fe fuche warresin that realme, and hope of fo finall remedy in your fenate, that Jam Determined as most buhappy, to banishe my selfe out of myn own house and honest company, to thentent that my harte fluide not fele fo great a hurt. It is a great pepne to fuffre the ouer= throwe of fortune: but it is a greatter yll, whan one feleth tt and can not remedy it: and yet without comparison my D.iii. great=

greatteft grefe is whan my loffe may be remedied, and be that may wyl not, and he that wyll can not remedy it . D pe cruell Romannes: if the forowes all onely fulbe be rebuced to memore that we luffre, my tonge fhuld be wery, and all my membres farnte, and myn eves foulde wepe bluddy teares, and my flethe confumed. This in my lond may be fene with eyes, herde with eares, and felte in pro= pre persone. Cettaynely my hart Departeth, and my soule is troubled, a myn entraples breake. And I beleue pet the goddes well have compassion. I well defere you to take my wordes for sclaunder. for ve Romannes, the be Romaynes, ve may well fe that the trouble that we have, cometh by men, and among men, and with men, and by the handes of men. Than it is no meruaple, though men fele it as men. One thrnge comforteth me, and dyuers tymes amonge other that be pll fortunate, it cometh to fuch pur= pole, the whiche is: I thenke the goddes be fo reghtwile, that their fierce and cruell chastisementes come not but by our owne cruell forewones: a our fecrete funes awaketh bs fo, that we have open Juftice. But of one thing I am fore troubled, bycaufe the goddes can not be conteced. for a good person for a lytell faut is greatly chastised, and he that is pl, for many fautes is not punifped at al. So thus the goddes fozbere fome, a fome haue noo mercy. Thus it femeth that the goddis wel turment bs by the handes of fuche men as greue bs extremely. So that if there were a: ny tustice in the worlde, whan they chastife bs with they? handes, we Chulde not merite to have our becdes on the hulders. Therfore I far to you, re Romarnes, and swere by the immortal goddes, that in.rb. days that I have ben in Rome, I haue feene luche bedes done in pour fenate, ? if the leeft dede of them had ben done at Danubie ,the ga= lowes a givettes had ben hanged thycker of theues, than

the bir fire har dyna a offende pence b wenne thuld h ended h pe mp fr what gt towe of wordes! opened t and If fcuer tha houre on abalbed, was acco and we c that he ha good fart wife word and for cu

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the binepard with grapes and replons. And lith o mp De: fire bath fene that it Defireth, mp harte is at refte: in fprebying absode the poylon that was in it. If my tonge hath offended you in any thinge, I am here redy to make reco= pence with my throte. for in good fothe, I had rather to wynne honour offerpage my felfe to the beathe, than pe thuld have it in taking my lyfe fro me . Thus this bilain ended his purpole. Than the emperour fard : Dow think pe mp frendes, what kernel of a nut? what golde of filth? what grayne of frame? what rose of thomes? what mas rowe of bones byd he bucouer what reasons so hie what wordes fo wel fette! what trouth fo true, and what malice opened he fo ! De discouered the ductie of a go od manne. and I (were to you, as I may be delinered from this euil feuer that I have: that I faw this bilarn ftanding a hole houre on the erth boldly, we holdinge downe our heedes abalbed, a coude not answere him a wood. The next day it was accorded in the fenat, to fend new tuges to Danubie. and we comanded the bilaine to beliver be in writing, all that he had faid, that it might be regestred in the boke of good faringes of strangers. And the faid bilarne for his wife wordes was made patricien, a fo taried fipl at Rome, and for cuer was fufterned of the common treafure.

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A the seconde yere that Mar. was chosen emperour, the. rlb. yere of his acge, as he retourned ned fro the warres that he had in conqueryng the Germains and the Aragons, whereby he got glory a riches for the Komaynes empire, he lay at Salon to reste him, and to appoint his armie,

and

and to thentent that the Romaynes shulde apparelle his triumph in Rome right glorious and rychly: There was one thynge done, that was never sene before in Rome. For the day of his triumph by all the people and consent of the senate the prince Comodus, some to Darc? Au. was chosen after the dethe of his father to be emperour universall of thempire. He was not chosen by the petition of his father, for he was agaynste hit with all his power, saying, that the empire oughte not to be gruen for the lawde of them that be deed, but he shoulde be chosen for his owne good werkes. Often times this emperour wolde saye: Rome shalle loste, whan the election shall be taken frome the senate, and the Emperour to enhergte the empire by

Patrimonic.

LAowe to returne where as we lefte. This emperour beinge at Salon, ftubied foze to entre into Rome in good order, and Rome ftudied foore howe to recepue hym as it appertained triumphantly for fuche a warre. He was fore delyted of thempire: and ener he imagined how to do ple fure to the people, and the people were redy to dye in his feruice. Dyuers tymes was moued a pleafant purpofe in the fenate, which of thefe thringes was mofte to be loued: The emperour to love the people of the empire, 02 the peo ple of thempire themperour. On a dare hit was determyned to fette iuges in that cafe: There were chosen the am: balladours of the Parthes and Roodes: and bypon that effecte they hadde writinge. It was lapde for the empecour, the good dedes that he had done in his absence, and the tokens of love that they hadde alwayes thewed in his prefence. And on an other day the emperour moued an other question before the senate, saying, that it was a great: ter glozie to have fuche fubicctes, then the glorie of the fenate to haue luche an emperour, Chan the fenate laybe nay:

the em agapn. all had for a mi arcato founde clemeno a worth force an to fe the the goot The wat to thente cis: and fuche exa enforce ti emperou ues, and and peop what peo what peo were at & Kome: a Salon. thep fawe There is n ted fro tha

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nay: Affirming that it is a greatter glozy that they had of bym, than he coude have of them. And in this maner the emperour gaue the glorie to the people, and the people to the emperour. Thus in sporte and play they toke subges agann. It was a marueplous thing to fe the ior that they all habbe to proue their intentes. And the good emperour for a memorie gaue the laude to the peple, bicaufe of their great obedience and feruice, and extreme loue that he had founde in them: And the happy people recouted the great clemency a mercy that was in themperour, and his bertu a worthenes in governing, his honestie of lyuyng, a his force and valiatnes in conquering. It was a great thing to fe the honour that the people gaue to themperour, and the good renowme that the emperour gaue to the people. The writinges were apuen to the strange ambassabours, to thentent that the people myght lerne to obey they prin cis: and princis to loue they people. To the ende that by suche examples, as it was reason, the good people shuld enforce them felfe, and the ill to withdrawe. Thus this emperour adressed his entre with his capitarnes a captiues, and Rome apparapled them with all their fenatours and people to recepue hym. It was a huge thinge to fee what people was at Rome to go forthe to mete hym, and what people were with the emperour to entre. They that were at Salon hadde their eyes and alfo their hartes at Kome: and they that were at Rome had they hartes atte Salon. In luche wife that they epes dafcled with that they fame and they hartes aked for that they hoped to fe. There is no greatter peyn, than whan the harte is Deferred fro that it longeth foze to haue.

Dowthemperour gaue Lucilla his doughter lycence to sport her at his palays.ca. exetti.

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It



Tis to be knowen, that the Romayns had a custome, that in the monethe of Janiuce, they shulbe make triumphes to they? emperours: and in the same seson that the triumphes were apparailed, Faustin thempress caused divers

high persons to pray the emperour to grue lycence to a boughter of his, to com from there as the was kept, to the palays, and sporte her at the feastes. This mayden was named Lucie or Lucyll: She was higher than the prince Commodus her brother: the was of a goodly gesture and well proporcioned of her bodge, and well be loued of her mother. Ind the refembled her not all onelpe in her beaus tie, but also in her lyunge. Aud though the request was pitifull, and they that made it familier, and he to whome it was made was the father, and the demaunder was the mother, and the for whom it was made, was the doughter: the emperour graunted it, but not withoute great dis Spleasure. Reuertheles faustine was fulle glad, and as fone as the had obterned lycence, the brought her doughter to the palays. And so whan the day of the great featle and triumph was comme, the damopfell Lucylle bernge out of gouernance, and feinge her felfe at large, trufting than bypon her owne innocencye, toke noo hede of anye Grange malyce, laughed with them that laughed, talked with them that talked, and behelde them that behelde her, a without care the thought that none thought ylle of her, bycaufe the thought pll of none: pet in those days a mayben to laugh among men was reputed as moch as a woman to have done advoutrie with the preftes of Grece, fo areat was the honeftie of Romann women eftemed. And lightnes of maybens was a great infamie: for they were wors punifped for one open lyghtnes, than for two fecrete fautes. Amonge all other leven thinges the women byd obsetue

oblett ftes, t thep2 their e at wy hulba nest th thyna that w wome by refo all thin the dill if they ches, th bout. fons ft a bipbe for byca Lucille mother tpme rp tpine in and fon bay, and brode in gardept Acros 1 tpuer of

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observe surely, that is to wrtte, not to speke moche at feafes, not to eate moche at bankettes, to Danke no wine in they; helthe, no; to speake alone with men, no; to lyfte bp their eyes in the temples, no: to flande longe lokying out at wyndowes, noz to go out of they; houses without their hulbandes. The womanne taken with any of thefe diffonest thyraces, was always after reputed infamed. Many thynges were suffred of personnes in smalle reputation, that were not fuffred in perfons of honour. for the noble wome coude not coferue the reputation of they effate, but by refon of keping their perfon in gret fere a good order. Al thinges done bukindly is fyn, a may be amended : but the diffonelt woma is alwaye hamed. The noble ladies, if they wyl be take as ladies, whan they excede other in ri thes, the leffe licence ought they to have to go wabring a= bout. Certainly the plette of goodes, a the libertie of perfons fuld not be a four to pricke the forward, but rather a bardell to kepe them in their closettes. And this is lard, for bycaufe that burynge the farde feaftes, the Damopfelle Lucille, as a ponge mapden, and fauftyne, her loupnge mother not beinge olde, sommetyme a foote, and somme tyme rydynge on hogfe backe, fomtyme openly, and fometyme meruaplous fecretely, fommetymes with company, and fommetpines without companye, fome tyme on the bay, and nowe and than by nyghte, they wolde walke abrode in the Aretes of Rome to fe the feldes of Aulcan, in gardernes Saturnynes, and brinke at the conduites of Acros water, and fommetyme paffe the tyme by the farge truer of Thiber, and in all luche other pleafaunt sportes as apperterned to there age. And thoughe the fore rpped primetyme prouoked them therto, pet the gravitie of futhe ladges fhulde not fuffre it. I wyll fape one thinge, to thentent noble women fould take aduertisemet therep, D.IL and

and that is this: I knowe not whiche was the greatteffe diffolution, eyther the walkpinge abrode of faultyne and Lucille throughe the fretes and other places, or elles the bolones of pll speakers, speakinge agapuft they persons and good names. The withdrawinge and kepping of wo: men close is a baydell to the tongues of all menne: and the woman that bothe otherwise, otherwyse putteth her good name in Daunger. Of trouthe it were better foza woman neuer to be boine, than to be defamed. Amonge the Bo= mapus the lyanage of the Comelies were had in great c= flimation. for of theym al, neuer none was founde a co= warde, noza woman defamed . The histories fewe, that ones a lady of that lygnage beinge onelpe defamed, was hanged on the galowes by the handes of her owne kyns= folke. Surcly it was well bone of the Romannes, to the entent that the wickednes of one waman thulbe not fuffet pll fame to renne bppon the hole lyanage: where is there noblenes without hame : The thynges that touche ho= nour, ought not to be hod but amended by Juftice, and to put theym to beathe, that lofe thep; good fame. It is not fufficient for a person to be good: but it is necessarpe that he put fro hym all occasions that are reputed to be yll. All the loffes that a man may have of any temporall goodis, can not countrepeple the lefte loffe of good fame . A man that layeth his good name for a ferthynge at a but of this worlde, at a hundred hottes feantlye hall he hote one a= tratte. And contrary wife the man that feareth no flame, noz will nat have his personne in reputation, there is no hope of goodnes in hym. Than this emperour, as a Chyp= mapfter faplynge in moofte feare and calme wether, forecafteth, and is in greatte thoughte and feare of tempeftes and flormes to comme, in the feathis of his greatte glorpe was in doubte of thefe two ladies, lefte fodenly any mpffame

fame (hit is a Cente fi mplcha caulm and con thunde fent del the hat! lerisfu whan u an othe trouble oughtt holdeth for his n telopce i this emi nyflatte trufted i he neuer

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fame thuld folowe. And certainly he had great cause. for hit is an infallible rule of enuious fortune, that this prefente felicitie is gruen with a pricke of a fodarne falle of myschaunce. In thinges naturall, we se somtyme the see caulme, and pet forthewith folowethe a perplious storme, and confequently the great heate of the daye is figne of thunder at night. I fay fortune compage with fome prefent delyte or pleasure, is a token that by flatterynge bs. the bath made redy her fnares to catche bs. when the miller is fure, he dreffeth his water gaate, and the labourer whan it repneth not, covereth his house, thinkpinge that an other tyme the wethers or rapnes well fall theron and In lykewyle a wyle and a vertuous man trouble bym: ought to thynke, as longe as he lyueth in this worlde, he holdeth his felicitie but at aduenture: and his aduerlite for his naturall patrimonie. Amonge althem that coude reiopce in prosperitie, and helpe theym felfe in aduerlite, this emperour Marcus Aurelius was one: whiche for a= ny flatterynges that fortune coude thewe hym, he neuer trusted in them: noz for myshappe that he had in this life, he neuer disparted.

Twhat Marcus themperour layde to a Senatour as touchynge triumphes.cap.rrrb.

Cheronense sayth, a senatour named Alusinus sayde to themperour, the same nyght that the triumphe ceased: Syz resource you sithe that this day ye have gruen so great ryches to the common treasare of Rome: and I have sene your person in the triumph of glorie: and to the worlde to come of you and your howse you have leste parpetual memorie. The D.iii. empe-

emperour hering thefe wordes, faid in this maner: fredes it is good refon we beleue, the huter knoweth the fierines of beftis, the philition the propretie of herbes, o marpner the perils of rockes, the capitagnes the chances of warre, and the emperour that triumpheth the topes that be bath As god helpe me, and as euer I haue of triumphes. nart with my predecessours, and as euer I have good for tune, the thoughtes that I have had for thefe feftes, have ben farre greatter than the feares that I have had in all the furnaves and battaples afore. And the reason thereof is bery euibente, to them that have clere bnderstandinge: for always in crucl bataples I was ever in hope to have glozy, a feared not the ouerthrow of fortune. What coube Tole in battaple : Pothinge but the lyfe, that is the leeft thynge that men have, and alwayes in thefe triumphes I feare to lofe renowme, whiche is the greattefte gyfte that the goddes haue gruen me . D howe happy is that man, that lofeth his lyfe, and leueth behynde hym perpetualle memorie ? lette eucree man bnocktonde this that welle, and fave what they lyfte: that amonge noble and balyaunt barons, he dyeth not, that lesethe his lyfe, and leauethe good renoume after hym: and moche leffe tyme ly: ueth he that hath an pil name, though he lyued many yes res. The auncient philosophers rekened not the lyfe of a man, thoughe he lyued many peres, but they rekened the good werkes that he habbe boone . The fenate was importune bepon me, that I hulbe take this triumphe, as pe knowe well: and I can not tell whiche was greattelt, their defire of my relistaunce. You knowe not the trouthe why I fay thus. I byd it not bycause of ambition and for couctousnes of glorie, but it was bicause I fere p humain malice. At the daye of the triumph there was not fo great top the wed by the fample persons, but the hyd enupe was areatter

areatt inone realme agint neuerl they ga Th mpnat capitar apueto and fur tapne, t hath in papmen owne pa capitapi as thep ! umphes auncien agayne to the chi tours. In ingeasc liberte, fo cause the waitpng, my neigh caused cri that with In the me

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greatter amonge the gretest persons. This glorye passeth in one day, but enuy abydeth a hole yere. The plentisule realme of Egipt, so happy in the blodshed of their enmies, as in the waters of Ayle, had a lawe immouable. They neuer denyed their mercy to the captines oucreome: not they gave no triumph to they; capitayns overcomers.

The Caldees mocke at the Romanne triumphes, affir= myng how there is not gruen fo great chastifement to the capitagne of Egipte ouercome, as the empire Romagne grue to the ouercomer, whan tryumphe is aruen to hom. Ind furely the reason is good, for the thoughteful capytarne, whan he hathe chased his ennemyes, that Kome bath in fraunce londes, with his owne propre fpeare, in payment for his trauaple they grue him ennempes in his owne propre lande. I swere to you, that all the Romaine capitarnes have not lefte fo many enmyes deed by fwerd, as they have recovered ylle wyllars the daye of they try= umphes. Let vs leave the Caldees, and speake we of our auncient Romannes, which if they myghte retoine nowe agapne in to the worlde, they wolde rather be tred fafte to the chariottes as captines, than to fyt in them as byctours. And the cause is, they neighbours scinge them gos inge as captines, woloe moue they; hartes to fet them at liberte, fo that the glorie of they; triumphes is a meane to cause them to be persecuted and pursued . I have red in witting, and herde of mp predecellours, and have feen of my neighboures, that the aboundaunce of felicitte bathe caused cruel enuce to be in many. D in what peril are they that with particuler honoz wold be eralted among othere In the most e highest trees the force of wyndes is mooste aduaunced. And in molte fumtuous builopnaes lyabtes ninge and thunder doothe moofte hurte, and in greatte thycke and daye bullhes the frees kendle moofte calelye:

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I fay that in them that fortune bath repled mofte byghly, agaynft them fpzebeth the greatteft popfon of enupe . All fuch as be bertuous far: The mo ennemies they fubbue to the common welthe: the moo enuious they recouer of their renoume. One ought to have great compaffion of a bertuous man : breaule where he trauapleth to be good, there abydeth one thynge in hym, of the whiche all onely at the beth he feeth the ende . And that is, the moze a man recourreth here renoume amonge ftrangers, the moze he is perfecuted with enuy amonge his owne nacions. Do. mer hewethe in his Alliades, that Caluitio kynge of the Argines was expert in clergie, baliaunt in armes, and in: bued with druers graces, beloued with his people, aboue all other he was a great louer of his goddis and worthyp per of them. This good bynge had a custome, that in all thynges that he had to do, he wolde frifte afke counselle in the temples of the goddis: he wolde begynne no warre agaynfte other, noz ozberne no newe lawe noz custome in his realme: no; grue aunswere to thambaffabours, no; put no trespasours to Death: no: fet no tribute on his people: but first he wolde go to the temple, and make diverse facrifices to knowe the well of the goddes. And bycaule he went so often to the oracles, he was demaunded what answere the goddis made to him in secrete, seinge he was fo importunate. Than he answered and sappe: I demand of the goddes, that they shulde not apue me so lyttell, that euery man myght abate and ouercome me : Aoz alfo that they hulde grue me fo moche, that euery manne foulde hate me : but my defpre is to haue a meane eftate, where: with euery manne myghte loue me. for I habbe leauet be felowe with many in loue, than to be bynge of all with hatred and enup.

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Of the great reproche that themperour gaue to his wyfe faultine and her doughter. Cap. rrrbt.

fter the feaftes of the tryumphe afore fande.

this good emperour willynge to fatysfre his hart, and to aduertife fauftine his wyfe, and to teche his innocente doughter , withoute knowledge of any other, he fente for theym, and fayde: Jam not contente faultine with that poure boughter boothe, and pet leffe with that you boo, whiche ar her mother. Thefe maybens for to be good maybens ought well to knowe, howe to ober they; mothers : Ind the mothers to be good mothers, oughte to knowe howe to barnge bppe thera chyldren. The father is excused in ayunge counfarlle, if the mother be bertuous, and the Doughter Chamefafte. It is a greate thame to the father beinge a noble man, that his wyfe beyng a woman foulde chaftyle bis fonne: Ind a great inconvenience of the mo= ther, beinge a mother, that her boughter fulbe be chaftifed by the handes of her father. There was a lawe ordep= ned by the Robiens, that the father with the boughter, if the hab a mother, noz the mother with the fonne, if he were a man, chulde not entermedle eche with other, but alonely men with men, and women with women oughte to be brought bp. And thertremitie of the law was fuche. that amonge them that dwelled in one house semed of the fathers hadde no doughters, not the mothers no fonnes. D Rome, I were not to fe thy fretes bupaued, northat there is fo many gutters in thy houses, not that the batyl= mentes fall downe, not the tymbre hewed downe, not for the mynyfbynge of thine habitantes, for all this the tyme bringeth, and the tyme beareth away : but I wepe for the, and wepe for the agapne, to lethe unpeopled of good fatherg

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thers, and buprouided in the nourifhing of their fonnes. Dur countrepe began to faile btterly, whan the Doctrine of fonnes and doughters was enlarged, and their bridell lette go at libertie. for there is now fuch boloneffe in men children, and fo lyttell fhamefaftnes in women chyldren, with the disponestie of the mothers, that where as one father fuffifed fo: rr. fonnes, a one mother foz . rrr . boughters, nowe. rr. fathers scautly dare budertake to barnge by well one fonne, and. rrr. mothers one boughter. I fay to you thus faustine, you remebre not how you are a mother, you grue moze libertie to your boughter than ought to be luffred. And you Lucille remembre not, how you ar a boughter. for you hewe to have more lybertie than requireth for a yonge mayden, The greattest gyfte that the goddis have gruen to the matrones of Kome is, breaufe they are women, they kepe them felfe clofe and fecrete: and bycause they be Romayns, they are Chamefaste. The day whan the women want the feare of the goddis fecretelpe, and hame of menne openly, beleue me, eyther they hall faile the worlde, or the worlde them. The common welthe requireth fo greatte necessitie, that the women that owell therin fhuld be as honefte, as the capitagnes be baliante. for the capitarnes going to warre defende them, and the women that abyde at home conferue them. As a.itis. peres paffed pe fame the great peffilence, and I demanded then to have a compt of the people, and I founde that of a. C. rl. 99. women well lyupnge. irrr. 99. dpco: And of. r.99. plle women in maner they scaped all. I can not telle for whiche I Chulde wepe, eyther for the lacke that we have of the good and bertuous women in our common welth, or elles for the greuous burte and bomage that thefe plie and wicked women doo to the pouthe of Rome . The frie that beenneth in mounte Ethna Dothe not foo greatte Domage

mac Doth enne Bom good to be agap force. is as tie an wifet redzei thatt man. waitp. but (& to thi men o with t anp qu ther. @ in thei tate in Dered i and fir and th great t them a profita bertue

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made to them that dwelle in Speille, as one ylle woman both in the circuit of Rome. A fierle beaft and a perplous ennemie to the comon welth is an pl woman : for the is of power to do moche harme, and is not apte to folowe any goodneffe. D howe many realmes and kynges rede we of to be lofte by the yl gouernance of women, and to relifte agaynfte them bath ben nede of wyledom, perpls, money, force, and worthynes of many men. The bices in a woma is as a grene rede, that boweth enery way : but the liber= tie and dishonestie is as a drie bir that breaketh: in suche wife that the moze pll they btter, the moze bulpkely is the redreffe therof agapn. Behold faultin there is no creature that moze defireth honour, and wors kepeth it than a wo= man. Ind that this is true, fe by Juftice, by orations , by witynge, and other trauaples manne getteth renowme: but (without it be by flatteryng and fayze (peakynge) bnto this houre, by antyke writing we can rede of fewe wo= men or none, that eyther by writinge, redynge, workinge with nedell, spynnynge, og by weupinge hath gotten them any great renoume. But as I fage of one, I fage of an other. Certapnip of dyuers we rede, by keppinge them close in their houses, well occupied in their bespuesses, tempes tate in their wordes, farthfull to their bulbandes, wel oz= bered in their personnes, peasible with their nepghbours, and finally beinge honelte amonge their owne famplye, and hamefalte amonge fraungers, fuche haue attayned great renowme in their lyfe, and lefte eternal memogie of them after their beath. I wol tel you an antike historie, as profitable to refrepne our biccs, as it did than augment bertucs, and it is this: The realme of Lacedemoniens (as Plato (beweth) was at a feafon moze diffolute by the bnthustines of women, than infamed by the crucitie of men: fo that of all maner nations they were called Barbariens. B.tt. **what**

What tome Grece as a mother called philosophie of philosophers. Lyaurae a wife philosopher in knowlege, and a right fuste kynge to gouerne, partely with his boctrine righte profitable, and partely with his pure lyfe made la= wes in the lapbe realine, wherby he extirped al vices, and planted all bertues . I can not telle whiche of thefe two were mofte happy, The kynge haupnge fo obediente people, oz els the realme to haue fo rightfull a konge. Imoge all other lawes for women he made one greatly to be com= mended: De commanded, that the father that oped, fould avue nothing to his doughter. And an other, that neyther lyuinge nor dienge be fuld grue any money to mary her with : to the entent that none fhulde marre her for her tyches, but all onely for her goodnes: and not for her beaus tie, but for ber bertues. Ind where as nowe fome be bas maried bycaufe they are pooze, fo then they abode bninatied bycaufe they were Chamefulle and bicious. D tyme, worthy to be defreed, whan maydens hoped nothinge to be marted with they? fathers goodes, but by the bertuous merkes of their owne persons . This was the tyme called the golden worlde: whan neyther the boughter feared to be disherited by the father in his lyfe, nor the father to dye forve for leaurnge her without remedy at his deathe . D Rome curfed be he that first brought golde into thy hous: and curfed be he that firfte beganne to hurde by treafure. Who hath made Rome to be fo tyche of treasure, and foo poze of bertues: who hathe made menne wedde billapnes boughters, and leave the boughters of lenatours bnmas tyed! what hathe made, that the tyche manns boughter is Demanded bnwpllpng, and p doughter of a poze ma none well defract what hathe caused that one mariethe a foole with frue. C. marke, rather than a wple woman with. r. 99, bettues . Than I lage that in this popute the fleme ban-

bang lice th Cone 1 foule ment boug Ctoze i tiour the be D cui out m tobef marpa the ao pp tpii alloft fpake (whan ! of the c les og f fuche o the ren him to hpm to the age tunate firange myllre nitie of Determ

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hanoupfbeth the flethe, and er euer the banytie of the malice therof is banqueled. How cometh it & a couctous p= fone well fooner nowe adaps have a wefe that is reche & foule, than one that is poore and fapre ! D bnhappy women that barnge forthe chyloren, and more bnhappy be the boughters that are borne, which to have them maried no fore is fet by the blodde of their predecessours, nor the fanour of their frendes, not the balue of their warkes, not the beautie of their persones, nor the clennes of they lyfe. D curfed worlde, where the boughter of a good ma with= out money hall have no mariage. But it was not wonte to be foo. for in the aunciente tyme, whan they treated of maryages, fyalle they fpake of the persones, and after of the goodis: not as they bo at this houre, in this buhap= pp tome : for nowe they fpeke firfte of goodes: and lafte of all of the persone. In the saybe golden worlde friste they fpake of the vertues y the persone was endowed with and whan they were marped, in sportynge they wolde speake of the goodes. whan Camillo triuphed bopon the Gaus les or frenchemen, he had then but one sonne, and he was fuche one, that his persone merited great lawdes. Ind foz the renome of his father, druers kringes defried to have him to their fonne : and opuers fenatours defried to have hom to their fonne in lawe. This ponge manne beinge of the age of. rrr. percs, and the father at. lr. he was impoztunatelye flyged by his naturalle frendes, and defyged of frange kynges for to mary hym: but alway the olde Ca: myll repugned the counsel of his frendes, a the importunitie of the straungers. whan it was demaunded, why he betermined not byon some marrage for his sonne, fythe therby hulbe folowe the restefulle lpfe of the yonge man, and the quietnes of hom felfe in his age, De aunswered : I well not mary my fonne, bycaufe fomme offer me ryche B.III. bough=

boughters, some noble of lygnage, some yonge, and some fayze: but there is none hath faybe to me, I grue you mp bertuous doughter. Certapnip Campile merpted to haue triumph for that he byb. And he beferued eternall memos rie for that he lapd. I lap to you faustine al these wordes, bycaufe I fe you lede your doughter to the Theatres and playes, and do bringe her into the Capitoll . You put her to the keppinge of the (werde players : you fuffre her to fe the toumblers, and pet you do not remembre, that the is ponge, and you not aged : pe go into the ftretes withoute lycence, and play by the tyuers. I fynd no bilany therin, not thynke that your doughter is pl: but I fay it bycaufe you grue occasion, that the Chulde not be good. Beleue it faultine: neuer trufte in the case of the fleshe of pong peos ple. Poz haue no confidence in olde folkes . for there is no better way than to flee the occasion of all thinges . for this entent the virgins vestales are closed by betwene the walles, to eschewe the occasions of open places, not to be moze lyghte and foolyfhe, but to be moze fabbe and bertuous, fleing occasions. The pong thal not fap, I am pong and bertuous, nor the olde fall not fap, I am olde a broken. for of necessitie the due flare wyl brenne in the free: and the grenc flagge Imoke in the flamme. I fave that a man beinge a biamonde enchaced amonge men, pet of nes cellitie be ought to be quicke and mery amonge women. And as ware melteth in the heate, we can not denve, that thoughe the woode be taken fro the frze, and the ymbies quenched, yet never the les the ftones oftentime remapne hote and becompng. In lyke wife the fleffhe thoughe it be chaffisco will hote a die maladies, or consumed by many peres with trauaple, pet concupifcence abideth Apil in the bones. What nede is it to blafen the bertues, a beny out naturalities: Certaynly there is not fo croked a hois, but ifhe

if he fe fo pono wyl giu nie not. ges 7 c wood fr the cold weg lea fette, it not befo in the a we lyue weth, th Dftent an bnho of the fo bertuou a say th prife, ho being th pour doi matron to kepe t brode, th than put cares: if dare (pel any lyah uen to at tis at her graue. T

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if he fe a mare, he well bray ones or twife. There is no ma fo ponge nozold, but let hym fe pong damoyfels, eyther he wyl give a figh or a withe. In all boluntary thinges I de nie not, but that one may be bertuous: but in natural thin nes I confesse euery man to be weake. Whan pe take the wood fro the fire, it leveth brennynge: wha somer cometh the colde wenter cellethe: whan the fee is cauline, the was wes leave their behemente mouvage: whan the fonne is fette, it bellyneth not the worlde. I wyl fay that than, and not befoze the flethe wpl ceafe to pepn bg, whan it is laide in the graue. Df the fleffe we are borne, and in the fleffe we lyne, and in the flethe we thall dre. And therby it folo= weth, that our good lyfe Chall Cooner ende than our flethe. Oftentymes fome bollome flelle for meate corrupteth in an buholfome potte: and good wyne fomtyme fauoureth of the foifte. I fave though that the werkes of our lyfe be bertuous : pet fhall we fele the ftenche of the weake flefte. I far this Faultone fith age can not relifte the hote entervile, howe can the tender membres of routh relift it ? you being the moder, without you go the right way, the being pour doughter can not go the same way. The Romanne matrones, if they wil nourifhe their doughters wel, ought to kepe thefe rules. Whan they fe, that they wold goo abrode, than breke their legges: and if they wold be galing, than put out their eies: and if they wyll harke for they? eares: if they wpl give or take, cut of their handes: if they dare speke, sowe by their mouthes: and if they wyl ented any lyahtnes, buty them quicke . wordes ought to be ai= uen to anyll doughter : and in ftede of prefentes and aiftis at her weddinge, gyue her wormes: and for her hous a graue. Take bede faultine, if pou wpl haue great iope of pour boughter, take fro her the occasios, wherby the thall be pile. To binderlette a hous behoueth dyuers proppes: and

And pf the principalles be taken awaye, hit wille falle downe. I wil tell you, womenne are so fraylle, that with kepers with great pepne they can kepe them selse: and so a small occasion they will lose all to gether. D howe many ill hath there ben, not bycause they wolde be so, but by cause they folowed such occasions, the which they oughte to have eschewed. It is so, me to entre into this battayle, but yet it is not in me to attayne the byctozic. It is so, me to entre into the see, yet it leth not in my hand is to escape the perille. It is in the hand is of a woman to entre into the occasion, and after that the is therin, hit is not in her handes to deliver her from saute.

Dowe themperour counsayled faustine to eschue ylle occasions fro her boughter. Cap. rrrbit.

Araduenture faultine pe woll lape to me, that none may speke to pour doughter Lu cylle, but if you here hit: noz se her but in your spatte, noz hide her, but you knowe where: noz make none appoyntment with out your knowlege. And atte this howre

pou knowe not, that they that do hate her, a wold her yll, what dishonour they; tongues doo speake ot her. Newe love in yonge bloudde in the springinge tyme and sourthynge youthe, is a popson that forthewith spredethe into every vayne: It is an herbe that by and by entreth the entrayles: a swowninge that incontinently mortifieth althe membres, a pestilence that seeth the hartes: and synally it maketh an ende of all verties. I wote not what I saye pet, although I knowe what I will say: for I wold never blasen love with my tonge, without I were sore hurte in myn vinderstandinge. Dupde sayth in his boke of the

arte o mote mote felte 3 funall outwa mhat: thefe 1 85 1 8 loucto mavs. nes th warde warde inumb Detha close.3 fpeake (Fame ter the that w that w mount ther. 3 toges t tofeth fro Sa the fpai perfone bulban

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arte of loue: Loue is I wote not what : that commeth I wote not whens: who fent it I wote not : it engendreth I wote not how: it is contented I wote not wher with: it is felte I wote not howe ofte, no? I wote not wherfore. Ind fynally loue taketh rote without breakynge of the fleffhe outwarde, oz percinge the entrayles inwarde. I wote not what Duide meaneth herby : but I trowe whan he fand these wordes, he was as farre banyshed from hom selfe, as Tam at this tyme from my felfe. D faultin, they that loue together, thewe the francs of there hartes by divers ways, and in flepynge they reason and speke: and by fig= nes they bnderstande eche other. The areatte borce out= warde is frane of lyttell loue inwarde : and the great in= warde loue kepeth filence outwarde. The entraples with in unbraced in love, cause the tonge outward to be muet. De that paffeth his lyfe in loue, ought to have his mouth close. And to the entente that ve hall not thouseth at I speake fables, I well proue this by auncient histories.

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the art Twe fynde aunciently, that in the yere. ii. C.and. lx.after the foundation of Rome, Estrasco a yonge Komayn, that was dombe, and Aeronne a fayle lady of the Latins, that was dombe also, These two sawe eche other on the mount Celyout at a feast, and there fel in love eche with other. And their hertes were as sooze fixed in love, as they toges were tied fro wordes: It was a meruplous thinge to sethem, and feareful to note here. The yonge lady cam fro Salon to Rome: and he went fro Rome to Salon, by the space of exceptes to gether without the witing of any persone, nor they two spake not. Than at the last died the hulbande of the lady Aeronne, and the wife of Estrasco, and than they discoverd their love, and treted a mariage betwene theym, of whom descended the noble lygnage of our Scipions: whiche were more lyberalle in the feates

of armes, than they; father and mother were in they; tongues. Then faultine marke this thynge: Lyttell aduantage it had ben to have cut out the tonges of the two dobe folkes, to have remedyed they; love, and not to have cut

out they? hartes.

Tallo I hall tell you of Dasinissa a worthy knyght of Aumedie, and Sopharife a famous labre of Carthage, al only by one fight, as they fawe eche other on a ladder, he declared his defpre buto her: and the knowing his luft brekynge the oozes of feare, and lyftynge bppe the ankers of hame incontinent rayled the failes of they hartes, and with the flippes of their plons they toyned eche to other. Dere may we gather, how the first fight of their eies, and knowlege of their persons, and the leage of their hartis, and the mariage of their bodyes, a the pardition of their estates, and the infamic of their name, in one day, in one houre, in one moment, and in one fteppe of a labber were agreed. what well ve that I far more to this pourpole! Do pe not know, that Delapne the Greke, and Darps the Tropan of two fraunge nations and of ferre countreis, with one onely fight in a temple their wylles were fo knyt together, that he toke her as his captrue, and the above his pationer . In Paris appered but imal foace, and in her but lyttell reliftence. So that in maner thefe two poge ps fones, the one procuring to banque (be, and the other fufferinge to be banquifhed, Darps was caufe of his fathers Deathe: and Delayne of the infamy of her bul bande, and they bothe of their owne beathes, loffe to their realmes, and sclaunder to al the worlde. All this love caused, one onelp fpahte.

Whan great king Alexander wold have gruen bataple to the Amazons, the quene capitapne of them no leffe faire than fironge and vertuous, came to a rpuer fode, and the

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Twhan Priche the farthfull defender of the Tarentynes, and renowmed bynge of Epirotes, was in Italye. be camme to Raples, and he had not benne there but one bay, the same season there was a lady in the same citie na= med Gamalicice of a highe lyanage, and greatly elemed in beautie: The bery fame day the was goten with childe and Chained through out all Italy, and was thrufte out of the citie, and after the was belyuered of childe, the was flaine, by one of her owne bretherne.

Tallo Celopatra in the proupnce of Bythynye, in the wod of Sehrn, made a goodly banket og folempne feafte to Darcus Inthonio her louer. Ind though the was not bery honest vet had the with her ryaht chast women : and thus the banket endurynge a great part of the nyght, and the wod being thicke, the ponge damfels were not fo wilp to hode them, but the ronge men Romarns found them ? fo that of.lr.doughters of fenatours.lv.were gotten with chylo among the thycke buffes: which thyng made a gret fclandre in the people, and augmented the infamy of Cleopatre, and minished the bonestie of Darc Inthonp.

Thus as I have thewed of a smalle nombre, I coude fay of many other. All men are not men, noz all women be not women . I fap it bicaufe I wolde it fhulde be fapt: let it touche them that it towcheth, and lette thepm that can bnderftand me. There be fome fbyps, vare fo lyabte, that they well fayle with a lyttell winde, athere be fome mplles o wpl grinde with a lytel water. I fay there be fom women to brittell, that as a glaffe, with a fplloppe well biebe, and wel flyp with a lytel myje. Shew me fauftin,

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have you fuffred your doughter to fpeke but with her bncles, and kept company but with her colins ! I fay in this cafe as moche wilenelle hath the mother as the boughter to renne in peryll. Do you not knowe, that the quicke fire both not forbere the wood be it wete or dry, but in likewyle it confumeth the harde flones ! Do you not knowe, that the hongre excessive causeth beastes to beyour with they? tethe the thynge that was brode in their entraples ? Do you not knowe, that the goddes made a lawe ouer al thin nes except on louers, by cause they may not abyde it? And Doubtleffe it is ryahtwifely Done, that Kome condemneth not thefe folyfhe innocentes, bycaufe they have none bn: berstanding. The goddes grue no pern to amozous people, bycaufe they are deprined fro reason. Ye knowe whan I was censure, there was a rong woman that had a child by her owne father, and an other that had a chylde by her fonne, and a niece by her propre bucle, and there was fentence avuen on them, that the fathers foulde be cast to the lyons, and the chylozen buried quicke, and the mothers were brente in the campe of Mars. The mattier was foo horrible to here, that I mught not endure to fe the curfed men. And I commanded by my decrees, that none foulde be fo bolde to fpeake in fuche a cafe any moze. And if this case were fearefull to men, than certapnly the Romanne matrons ought to lyue chastely . Than if the fire of the father doo chaufe the dou ahter, enflamethe kyngfolke, and burne themfelfe : Than take hebe, if he fynde after, enther coulyn or fange fifter, the flames of his cocupifcece will not leaue to take holde on her for any parentage. If this riotous flefte well ober reason, than it mave be, that pour doughter may fpeake liberally with her coufins:but fith that pallion repugneth fo moche at reason, I council pou truft not to moche in her bzetherne. pou fe by experience

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ence, that the worme that is bredde in the tymbre, eatethe the fame tymbre: and the moothes that are bredde in the clothe, eatethe the same clothe. I save that sommetome a man byngeth bp in his howfe fome perfone, that after taketh his lyfe fro bym. faustine take this that I have fand for a warning, and thefe lafte wordes I give you for councell. If you wil kepe your felfe fro thought, and your boughter fro perpll, alway let your boughter be occupied with some good werkes. whan the handes are occupied with any good exercise, than the harte is borde fro many ydell and vayn thoughtes. Euery lightnes done in youth breaketh downe a loope of the defence of our lyfe: but pdelneffe, wherby our enuve entreth, is it, whiche openeth the gate to all byces. faustine well you wite: I se dayly the parditon of the yonge Romanne doughters: for as foone as they de burne, they prefume to be amozous: they as buthoughtfull, with the rechelefnes of the father, and wantonnes of the mother, leave the ruft travaile, and take briuft idelnes. Of poel motions a outragious thoughtis the cies take licece without leave, the mynde altereth, and the will is hurte: and finally thynkynge to be the whyte, that amozous men Chote at, they remarne as a butte fulle of all byces. And in conclusion there is nothing that more rechaceth the balle of the thought (in this plave) than the hande fette a worke therwith.

Twhat thought Parcus the emperour toke for the mariage of his doughters.ca.rrrbitt.



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Dan the good emperour Parc haupinge a clere binderstanding, and a quiete witte, toke right great hede of thinges that were paste, product ly wayinge thinges present, a thinges to come.

Seinge that the paroition of princis, lap al in wpl, totally gruinge them felfe eyther to ftrange thinges, forgettinge their owne, or els to entende to their owne, nothing regar dinge ftrange thenges: Dis hart was fo agreable to him, that neyther the high bulineffes of them: noz foz all the affaires of his house, he wolde not leaue one of thempire bulped. I fay this, bycaule this emperour Marcus had foure boughters, whose names were Lucille, Borfena, Matrina, and Domitia. All refembled their mother in era cellent beautie, but they resembled not they; father in hos nestie and bertuousnes. And though they were in gouet: nance bnder their mapstresses out of his presence, pet he had them always in memorie: and the elder they were, the more fludy and thought he toke for them: and whan they cam to coplete age, he studied to fynd prouision for them. It was a laudable custome, that the doughters of the of ficers of the Senate, Chulde not marre withoute lycence, no; the emperours boughter without the aduplemente of the senate. Than it was so, that one of the sayd princeses his doughters, bernge of aege, and of well to be marred, her father feinge her importunitie, to accomplythe her defire, bycaufe be was fycke, be fente for fauftyne, that the fluide goo and commune in the lenate. The whiche with all her power the withstode, bycause that secretely the had treated fog an other mariage fog her boughter . And openly the excused her felfe, fayinge, that her doughter was to yonge and tender of acge: and as the goddis had gruen age lufficiet to p father, lo had not the doughter of peres. whan the emperour biderstode this, he called faustyne to his bedde fide, where as he lay and fapd : Dyuers thinges are diffimuled in particuler perfons, the lefte of thme is not to be fuffred in the that shuld ensigne all other. The prince is never well obeyed, but if he have good credence amonge

amo thin thec inth good nwo good bette the n Certi in th not k tune, mand ben m welth chylo endeh know delite, itgpu mie, a kepte t tie of h an crlp frange not, but faire fa man, th acac to

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among his people. I fay this fauftin, bicaufe you do one thing in fecrete, and fay an other openly. Derein fayleth the credence of so high a lady, and putteth inconvenience in the auctoritie of fo great an empire. If ye suppose my good defires be finifter in your hart for the welth of your owne chylozen: howe hulde we hope than in any of your good worker for the childre of arangers! It femith to you better to give your doughter to them that demande her of the mother, and to refule them that the father both chule. Certainly bicaufe pe be a woma, you deferue pardon : but in that you are a mother, you augment your faut. Do you not knowe, that marpages are guyded, somme by for tune, and some by bertues and wyledome. Suche as demande the doughters of the fathers, beleue me, their eies ben moze bpon their owne proper btilitie, than bpon the welth of an other. I knowe welle, you bipnge forthe the chylozen, but the goodis well marie them, fith they have endewed them with fo meruallous beautie. Doo you not knowe, that the beautie of women fetteth fraungers on delire, and putteth negabours in suspection, to great me it queth force, to meane men enuve, to the parentes infa= mie, and perill to the person selfe : with great pepne it is kepte that is despred of many. Detrouth I fage the beautie of women is nothynge but a figne for ydell folke: and an crly wakpinge for them that be light: where as of the france delyzes lyeth the renome of them felf. And I deny not, but that a light person serchith soner a woman with a faire face, than one of honeft lyuing. But I fay, that a wo man, that is maried only for her beautie, may hope in her acge to have a forp lyfe. It is an infallible reule, that the that was maried for her fairenelle, is hated for her fowlenes. D what travaile he offreth bym felfe bnto, that marieth a faire woman! It behoueth hym to fuffre her payde, fo₂

for beautie and folge alway goo to gether: alfo he mufte fuffer her expeces. for foly in the heed, and beautie in the face bene two wormes, that frete the lyte, and wasteth the goodes: allo he must suffre hit rrottes. For a farze woma well that none but the haue her commendementes in the house: also he must suffre her nice mynionnesse: for euery fayre woman well paffe her lyfe in pleafure : alfo he muft fuffre her prefumption: for every fapre wones well have preeminence before all other. fynallye he that mariethe with a faire woman, apparepleth hym to a right gret abuenture : 4 I Chall telle pou wherfore. Surely Carthage was never to environed with Scipios, as the house of a favze woman is with lyahte persons. D bnhappy huf bad whan his fpirite is at reft, and the body fleping, than thefe leght perfons wel come about his house, Drieng his body with felousy, castring their eyes to the windowes, scalinge the walles with ladders or climming over, finging swete fonges, playing on dructs instrumetes, watching at the gates, treating with baudes, buconerping phouse, a waitinge at every comer therof. All thefe thinges, in cafe they thote at the pricke of the womans beautie, they leve not to thote at the butte of the forowfull hufbandes good name. And whether this be true or not, report me to mp felf, that maried me with your beautie: and let them wyte of my tes noume that go lo about the citie. I far moche, but truck I fele moze. Po man complayneth of the goddes foz gpa upnge hom a foule wofe, amonge his bestenves. Whyte fyluer is not wrought but in blacke pytche: and the ten-Der tre is not conferued but by the harde rynde . I fay the man that marieth a foule wyfe, leveth a fure life, lette eue: ry man chuse as he lysteth: and I fay, a man that marieth a faire wife, cafteth his good fame at hafard, and putteth his lyfe in peril. Al the infamie of our predecessours stode

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in none exercisinge of dedes of armes: and nowe all the pastime of the Romayne youth is to serue ladies. Whan a woman is samed to be sayze, than every man gothe thy ther, and taketh great peyne to serue her, and the women woll be sene. I saye faustine you never sawe a yonge damoyfel Romayn, greatly renowmed in beautie, but eyther in dede of in suspection there followed som yl name of her. In that syttes that I have redde, I have harde of dyners sayze women, both of Greee, Italy, Parthe, and Rome: and they be not put in remembraunce, bycause they were saire, but for the great perylles and heup chaunces that by their beauties felle in the words. For in maner by reason of their excellent beauties they were bisted in their owne landes: and by their insampe shamed throughe all the words.

Twhan the realme of Carthage was flourpffppnge in tyches and happy in armes, they tuled the common welth by wife philosophers, and fufterned it by discrete armies on the fee, Arminius the philosopher was as greatly effemed amonge them, as Domer amonge the Grekes, o; Ci= ceto amonge the Komapnes : he lyuco in this worlde fyre score peres and. it. Of the which happy age. Irrr. peres he tuled quictly as a baron most peasible of mynd: and was as ftrange to women as familiar with his bobes . Than the fenate feing he was fo broke with the common welth, and withdrawen from all naturall recreations, they delited hym with great instaunce to be maried, bycause that memory myahte be had of foo perfite a wyfe man in tyme to come: and the moze importunite they were in, the moze be relifted a lapo, I wpl not be maried : fog if the be foule, I Chall abhorre her : if the be rpche, I mufte fuffre her: if the be pooze, I must mayntein her : if the be faire, I must take hede to ber: if the be a thee we, I can not fuffre ber: and

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and the leaste pestilence of all these is sufficiente to see a No. men. With suche wordes this wise man excused hym selfe: and he in his acge, by reason of his greatte studye, loste his sighte. And the solytarines of his swete specities constrayed him to take company of a woma, and she had by him a doughter, of whom descended the noble ampleares of Carthage copetitours of the Scipions of Kome, the whiche shewed no lesse worthinesse in defence of Carthage, than ours were fortune to augment Kome.

Cell me faultine, mape not fuche fuspection fall bpon pour boughters, though their bertue luccour in the peril, and their honeftie affure their perfons ? I will discoucr a fecrete thringe to you. There is nothringe that can be foo quickely commytted, if a womanne be enupronned with chaft kepers and feminine Chamefaltnes. Stedfattly thep defire, and with great lepfure they procure thefe thinges, that lyahtly may be atterned. There is nothinge foo certarn, but that the welth of an other is matter for the own eurll. And faultine pe knowe, that the moste honeste womenne by our malyce are mofte defired . Certainely thep Chamefastnes and kepinge close, ben arowes in Defence of our honeftie. We rede not that bludde, riches, noz beautie of the buhappy matrone Lucrece was the cause that the was defired: But the clerenes of her byfage, the grauite of her persone, the purenes of her lyfe , the keppinge of hy; close in her howse, the exercitie of her tyme, the credence amonge her nepbours, and the greatte renoume that the hadde among fraungers, waked the foolyfhe Tarquyne to commytte with her aducutrie by force. What thynke pou! wherof came this ? I wall thewe you . we that be pll, are fo pll, that as pll we ble the goodnes of them that be good. This is no faute to the ladies of Rome, but rather in the immortall goddis. Their clene boneftie accufethe

feth o topot father and to Ofa model ter, fo remen their D for the marie paffeti this m lone, t lyuein Spectio T kno! oftrych flacke that at uidenc were co burped in the la mande one bay trauapl (weate) all his f

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feth our cruel malpce. faultine, pou fap pour doughter is to ponge to be maried: Do pou not knowe, that the good father ought to endoctrine his fonnes fro their yong age? and to prouide for his doughters whiles they be ponge. Of a trouthe if the fathers be fathers, and the mothers moders, as sone as the goddis have given them a doughter, forthwith they oughte to fyre in their hartis a newe remembrance: and not forget it, toll they have prouided their doughter an huloand. The fathers ought not to tary for tyches, nor the mothers for high lygnage the better to marie them: So what with the one a the other, the tyme passeth, and the doughters ware aeged : and than after this maner they be to olde to be maried: and to abyde a= lone, they be maydens: and to ferue they be women, they lyue in pepne, the fathers in thought, the parentes in fu= spection, least they shulo be lost. D what gret ladies haue I knowen boughters of gret fenatours, and not for faute of tyches, noz of vertues in their persons, but all only foz flacke of tyme, and drivinge of one houre to an other, foo that at lafte fodern dethe came to the fathers, and no pro= uidence made for the doughters : So that in maner fome were covered binder the erthe after their deathe, and fome burred with forgetfulnes . Erther I lee, or Thaue redde in the lawe of the Rodicus, where as it is written: we comande the father in marienge. r. fonnes, to trauaple but one bay : but to marye one bertuous boughter, lette hym trauaple. r. peres, pe a fuffre the water come to the mouth, sweate droppes of bloode, trauaple the stomake, disperite all his fonnes, lofe his goodis and aduenture his perfon. These woods in this law were piteful for the doughters, anot leffe greuous to the fonnes. foz.r.fonnes by p lawe of men arbound to discouer, a to go ouer al the world:but poorghter, by p good law ought not to go out of p hous. Toll

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Flap moze ouer, that as thinges buftable threte fallyng, fo lyke wife it chaunfeth to ponge damfelles, whiche thins beth all their tyme loft and superfluous buto the daye of their mariage. Domere lapth, it was the cultome of ladies of Grece to count the peres of their lyfe, not fro the tyme of their byath, but from the tyme of their maryage . As if one Demaunded of a Grecian ber age, the wolde aunswere rr. peres, if it were. rr. peres fith the was maried: though it were. Ir. peres fith the was borne : Affirming after they habbe a house to gouerne and to commaunde, that day the begrnneth to lyue. The Delon after it is type, and abpa Deth firll in the garbeyn, can not fcape, but epther rotteth or elles muft be gathered. I fave the mayben that tarieth longe, tyll the be maried, can not escape, eyther to be take or infamed. I will fave no more. Is foone as the grapes be ripe, it behouethe that they be gathered: fo it is necessas ty, that the woman that is come to perfite age be maried and kept. And the father, that both this, cafteth perill out of his house, and bringeth him felfe out of thoughte, and contenteth well his doughter.

Of a fyckenes, wher of themperour bied, of his age, and where he died. Cap.rrix.



Arcus the Emperour beinge olde, not onely by age, but by travaile and great peines that he had taken and suffred in warres: In the rotti. yere of his emptre, and. lrit. yere of his age, and of the foundation of Kome. bi. C.

and. rl. as he was in Panony now called Pungarie, with his hoste and Commode his sonne, at a citie called Hendebone, situate by on a ryuer, that had. iiii. A. fire houses, and beinge in wynter, and the waters great, a bery weate wether

weth cemb nesa in on nozp Tha no le areal an ot barte nes, t ofhig that c and lo reafor acd w to hyu was n mozel dre w honou leauer So th allabo wold f pervil fon. T and let felde: 1 titie of

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wether, he beinge in the feldes about the rrr dave of De= na, cember: fodainly byon anyohte as he wente with lanter= bin= nes about his campe, there toke hym a fyckenes oz palley e of in one of his armes, fo that he coude not weld his fpeare, Dies noz pet dzawe his fwerde, noz put on his owne clothes. pme Than this good emperour charged with perce, and with ds if no leffe thoughtes, and wynter increasinge with manye were great snowes, and frespinge of the erthe, there felle on him uah they an other malady called Lytarge, the whiche put the Bar= bariens in great hardines, and his hofte in greatte heup= o the nes, his person in perpl, and his frendes in great suspecte aby: tteth of his helthe. There was done to him all the experience rieth that coude be founde by medicines, as unto great paticis and lozdes is accustomed. And all dyd him no profite : by take reason the maladre was greuous, and themperour charapcs efflas ged with peres, and the apre of the lande was contratpe to hym, and the tyme helped him nothynge : and also he arted lout was not well intended. And as men of worthyppe fettethe moze by their honour than by their lyues, and had rather and dre with honour, than lyue dishonoured, to assure they? honour, they aduenture every houre their lyues, and had leauer haue one houre of honour, than a. C. peres of life: So thus this licke emperour cauled him felfe to be boine all about his campe, and went to fee the fearingthes, and onelp wold slepe in the feldes: the which was not without great perpli of his lyfe, noz without great trauaplie of his per= s that fon. Thus on a pay the emperour beinge in a great feuer n the and letten bloudde, harde a great clamour og nopfe in the of his felde: made by his men that had brought home great qua i. C. titie of fourage, and their ennemies lette on theym to refwith cueit: there was medlynge on bothe parties, the one to Tlen= beare away, and the other to defende: The Romayus for ules, hungre, byd what they coulde to beare it awaye : And the peate Tiu. ether

Dungariens fro whenle it came, made reluftence: They medled to one with an other, and their debate was fo crus ell, that there was flavne. b. capitarnes of the Komarns, the worke of them was more worthe than all the fourage that they had won. And of the Bungariens were fo many flapne, that all the fourrage that they had loft, was not fo moche worth. Certapuly confidering the crueltie that was there bone, the profite that came therby was bery smalle to the Romannes, fo that there went but a few away with the fourage. 4 of the Dungariens fewer was left to make reliftence. The emperour feing the plozder, and that by the reason of his blouddelettynge and feuer, he was not present at that acte, he toke suche a heupnes at his harte, wherby he fell into suche a traunce, that it was thoughte he had ben deade: and fo he lap.iii.npahtes and two daps, that he coude fe no light of the fkpe, noz fpeke to any perfone. The heate of his fickenes was greate, and his pepnes greatter, he dranke moche and eate lyttelle, he cowde not flepe, his face was pelowe, and his mouthe blacke. Somtyme he lyfted by his cies, a oftentymes iopned his handes together: De spake nothpinge, and spahed many tymes. His throte was so dre, that he coude not spytte: his eyes were very loose with lobbynge and wepynge. It was greatte compassion to fe his beathe : and a great place of confuspon to his howse, and also the very great loffe of his warre . There durite no manne loke bypon hym, and fewer speake to hym. Panutius his Secretarie, forowrnge at his harte, to fee his mayfter foo nere his dethe, on a nyght in the presence of dyuers other that were there he land to him.

The wordes of Panutius his fecretary to thempetour at the houre of his deathe. Cap.rl.

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iopnt breau the pe Die, al rowe wife p Tenn that h man fi lofe w Right to the I pervil to a ca not ho knyah what p felfe to your ly meg fel haue fo pourly handel and pro deathe; Claudi

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Marcus my lozde, there is no tongue that can be fixed, noz any herte suffre, noz eies distinute, noz wytte that can permytte it: My bloudde congeleth, and my sinewes drie, the stones ope nethe, and my sowle wolde passe forthe: the

ionntes bnionne a fonder, and my spirites are troubled, breaufe you take not the write and face counfarle, the whi the pe gaue to other that were fpmple. I fee you my lozde Die, and I ought to be foose displeased therwith. The forowe that I fele at inp bert is, how you have lyued lyke a wife perfone, and at this houre you do lyke a fimple man. Tenne pere a bnight giueth mete to his hozs, to thentent that he shoulde kepe him fro pervil: and all that the tople man ftudieth for a longe feafon, oughte to be to paffe his lofe with honour, and to take his beth with great bertue. Right Dere loide I Demande of pou: what proufite is hit to the mariner to knowe the carde of the fee, and after to perplie in a tourmente og tempelte! what prouffyte is hit to a capitagne to fpeake moche of warre, and after know not howe to apue battaplie : whatte profytethe hit to a knyght to haue a good hors, and to fall in the frete? what profiteth it to teche an other the plain war, and him felfe to wander alide: I fay what profyted hit the force of your lyfe, that you estemed so lyttell your lyfe, many ty-And at this howse that you mes fekrnge your deathe? have founde deathe, you were bycaufe it will take away pour lyfe; Whatte thringes haue I witten with mone hande beinge pour Secretarie, dpuised by pour hyghe and profounde biderstandinge, towchringe the ftroke of deathe; what thynge was it to fee the letter, that you fent Claudine bpon the deathe of her hulbande? what wrote you to Anthygone, whan your fonne Meriffimus byed? wherin your vertue dydde consolate his heuinesse. what

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hyghe thinges byd I write in the boke that you fent to the Senate, in the pere of the greate peltilence : comfortynge them after the great mortalitie palled : therin pou bybbe Thewe theym, howe lytell men fhulbe fet by Deathe, a what profite foloweth therby. Ind I haue fene and herde pou blafon bethe in your tyfe, and nowe you wepe, as though pou Guldelyue here ftyll. Syth that the goddis commad it, and pour age requireth it, a pour lickenes is the caule, and nature permytteth it, and fortune confenteth to it, and is the fatall besteny of bs all, than you must nedes bye. The tranaples that come of necessitie, ought with a good courage to be abyden. for the couragious fecleth not foo fore the harde ftrokes, as the weake that fallethe or he be foughten with . pou are but one man , and nat two : and pe ought to haue one deathe and not two. Therfore why molde ve for one lyfe haue two dethes, enterrynge the boby, and fleinge the spirite with sighes? After so many pecilles of longe lyfe to take a fure poste, wyll pe lyfte by the faples, and entre agepne into the [wolowe of the fce, forto engloutte you! In the fee you have chaced the bulle and Caped his woodnes, and nowe perefule to entre in to the parke, where you map furely flee hym. You make affaute with bictory of your lyfe, and wyl die atterninge the beth. You have foughte. Irii.peres in the campe of miferie, and nowe you feare to entre into your fepulchze: you have got out of the bulihes and thornes, wherin you were closed: and nowe at this howse you fromble in the faire way : you have had in certapne the domage of your deathe: and now pe put in Double the proufite of pour Deathe: pou are en tred into the campe of defieng of the worlde : and nowe you wolde turne your backe, whan it is tyme to put your handes to armes . Arit. pere you have foughte agaynfte fortune: and nowe pouclofe pour eyes, bycaufe fortum wylle

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well arike you. I fay it because that willynaly you refuse this present dethe, the whiche well cause by to have your lyfe paffed fuspect. What do you hye and myghty prince? Why were you lyke a chyldea why figh you as one in dis sparterif you were bicause re that die, why did you laugh so moche in your lyfe tyme ! for of moche laughynge in the lyfe time cometh moche weppinge at the deth. worl you bo that you can not do; and not be content with that you may do. The grounde and pasture that is common, you wolde toyne to your owne, the renowne of the common welthe you applyed to your owne heritage. Of a subsidy or lone you wolde make your perpetuall righte. I wylle thewe you who be deed. All be deed and thall dre. And a= monge all other you wolde all onely lyue. Wyll pe haue that of the goddis that they be goddes for . That is by= cause you are mortall, that they make you immortall. And you have that for privilege, whiche they have by nature? I that am but symple, demaunde one thyinge of you my loide, that are auncient and wple: whiche is the greattelt o; least welthe, to ope well o; ique pll ? To ique welle noo man can attayne certapnly for hungre, thirlt, folitarines, perfecution, pll fortune, fickneffes, and diffauours. This can be called no lyfe, but rather beth. If an ancient man wolde make a thewe and bootte of his lyfe, fro the tyme of his birthe to the layinge in his grave, and the bodge to thew all that it hath suffred by dolours, and the harte to discouer all the strokes of fortune: I imagine that the goddes wolde have maruaple therof, and men wolde be abalhed therof, that the body coude luffre fo moche, and the harte beare it. I hold the grekes wifelt, for they were whan they; childerne are boine, and they fynge whan an olde man dyeth: but the Romannes lynge at the bythe of their chylozen, and wepe whan they dye olde. Certaynly to

to laughe at the beth of them that Die olde, lith they bye to laugh: and to wepe at the birth of children, fithe they are borne to wepe, and that lyfe abydeth the fentence of vile: approuethe that the Deathe is good . wyll you that I fave one peritie to you! I have alwayes fene, that the coufel in the wpleft ma foneft faileth him. Such as wold couerne al thinges by their opinions, of necessitie in some or in the molte parte they do erre and fayle. D Marc mp bere loide, wene you, that have caused to burve soo mas np, that fonc shulde not burpe you in lykewise ! As you have fene the ende of their dayes, other thal fe the ende of pour percs. Therfore me femeth it were better for pou to bye, and to go your way to atterne fo moche welthe, than to scape and to lyue in so moche mpfert. If you fele bethe, I have no meruaple foth pou are a man. But I meruaple that you do not diffimule bit, fith you are discrete. They that have clere biderftanding fele many thinges at their bette, that putteth them to peyne, whiche they shewe not outwarde, for the prefumption of honour. If all the popfon that is in a heup harte were fprede abrobe in the weke Hellhe by finalle greynes, no walles hulde fuffyle bs to tubbe, noz our nayles to scratche. foz certapnip the Dethe is but a play, wheren the player, if he be apt, aduentureth but lyttell to wynne moche, and they that play may fe wel that this is a wyly play, and not of frength. And that alfo as well they lefe that have but a smalle carbe, not featynge death, as they that with a great carbe loueth longe lpfe! What thinge is bethe but a trappe doze, wherin the tent is closed, in the whiche is folde all the miseries of our lpfe! This the goddis do change bs from an olde fylthy house, into a newe. And what other thing is the sepulchie, but a callelle, wherin we be closed agapuft the affautes of the lyfer Of trouth you ought moze to couete to take that pou

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ferefu The b veto pare elle: that t the olow Come c mp ma= pou De of ou to than ethe, naple They their e mot nop= meke bs to Dethe ureth se wel at alt fealonge in the ofour folthy Ichze, tes of e that

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you find at your beth, then the hurt of that you shal leve in pour lyfe. I demand of you, what is it that doth you most pepne in lespnge of the life eif pou pepne pour selfe for De= lie fabrice pour wyfe, bycaufe pou leaue her ponge: werp not pour felfe, for the is wel thought on in Kome, for any perpli of your lyfe. And as fone as the knoweth it, Jam in certaine the well not were moche, though you go your way. Than you ought not to wepe for leuing of her. Thefe ronge damorfels maried to old men, have ever their eies fixed in the deth of their hulbandes. And holly fasten their bartes on him that they thinke to mary with agein. They wepe with their cies, a be glad in their hartes. And truft not though the be an empresse, and can not fynde an other emperour to be her bulbande vet the wil fynde fom other. for if they be so determined, they will change their robes of fatyn foz a gowne of cloth. foz I dare welle fape, they more delire a ponge feparde, than an old emperour. And if you care for your children, whome pe must leave behind you: I can not tel why you foulde do fo. for if your beth be displeasant to them, moch moze displeaseth them y pour live folonge. It is great pein to a child, without he defire the dethe of his father: if he be pooze it is for feare howe they bulde be maintained: if he be riche, than bicause he hall be his heire. They finge and you were, you fere the deth a wepe bicaufe pou leue pour life. Do pou not know, that after the night cometh the dewy morning: a after o cometh the bright fon: a after the fon cometh a derk cloud, and after again cometh ferre wether, a after that cometh lightning a thonder: a then agein clere aire ? Alfo I fap. that after infancy cometh childhode, tha cometh youthe, & age after that, and fo at lafte cometh bethe, and after beth fereful hope of a fure lyfe. Sir beleue me in one thynge : The beginning, the meane, and the ende euery man bath. Mit.

Certapnip if you had ben take as the floute fro the herbet if you had ben cut grene fro the tree, if you had ben graf= fed in primetime : if you had ben eaten in the fowernes of the byne: I meane if in the firste pouthe, whan lyfe was at the fweteft, if bethe had come and knocked at the gate, ve foulde haue had caufe to be forie: but as now the wals les are weake and redy to falle, and the flowie wythered, and the bery putrified, the fpeare full of moffe, and canne not drawe the knyfe out of the Gethe . Derin you have defired the worlde, as if you had neuer knowen the worlde. Arii pere pou haue ben pailoner in the dongeon of the bos by: and nowe the hakils or gives hulde be taken frome pou, you complayne : pou lozde wold make newe of other newes. De that thinketh it nat sufficiente to lyue . Itit . pes res in this dethe, or to dre in this lyfe, he well not be content with the fcoze thaufande.

Auguste the emperour laybe, that after that men had lyued.l. peres, they ought to die, ozels caufe them felf to be flanne, by cause that buto that tyme is the felicitie of ma. He that lyuethe beyonde that tyme, passethe his tyme in heupnes, in greuous aches, beathe of his children, and loffe of his goodes, in importunities of his chyldene in lawe, burienge of his frendes, susterninge procelle, papinge of bettis, and other infinite trauailes : 50 that it were better with his eies closed to abyde theym in his grave, than with his eics open to abyde theym in his lyfe dayes. Certapuly it is a fortune of all fortunes, and he is right privile with the goddes, that at. I. pere leaveth his lyfe. for al the time that he liucth after is in Decaying and neuer bpryght, but rollynge, relyng, and redy to fall. D Marc my Dete lozde, Do you not know, that by the fame way that lyfe gothe, cometh bethe : It is. left. pere that pe have loughte the one from the other. And whan pe wente

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fro Rome, where as you left your house, and wente to Als lirike, where you lefte a greate peltilence: and nowe you are returned in to Dungarie. Do you not knowe, that as foone as you were borne to gouerne the erthe incontinent bethe iffued out of his fepulchie to fynde your lyfe . Ind if you have honozed ambassabours of the Graunge bynacs, moche moze pe ought to honour deathe, that cometh fro the goddes, what logdellyp can be loft in this lyfe, but you hall finde greter in the deather Are you not remembied wha Mulcan my fonne in lawe potfoned me, bycaufe he deliced my goodes more than my lyfe, howe you mp loide for loue that you had to me, gaue me comforte and councell, for the beth of my foroweful youth: and you faid to me, the goddes were cruell in kyllynge of them that be ponge: and pitifell, whan they burie them that be olde. Ind also you saybe to me : Comforte thy felfe Banutius : for if thou byoft lyue to bye, nowe than thou Dieft to lyue. Therfore tratt high and myatty prince, I far to you, as you farbe to me: and I counfarle you as you counfarled me: and that you gave me, I grue you agarne. finally of this repringe take the beste in worth, a let the rest abide.

Thow themperour demanded to have in writing al that the Secretarie had fayde cap. rli.

Ad as of the contentynge of the wylle oftenstyines procedeth helthe and ease of the bodye, the emperour was wel satisfied with the wordes of Panutius, whiche he eloquently biteced, and with profounde counsell, hardly and

familiarly, and in due tyme, as a good frende. Great co= passion it is to them that wolve die, what it is shewed them what they ought to do. For of them that be about the bed-

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fomme robbehim of his money, fomme ferue hom welle; some holde the place to be his heire, somme gapynge for apfres, some wepe for toffe of him, somme also laugh for the gapnes by his deathe, and foo in this maner the pooce pacient haupinge many lokyinge for thepr profpte, bath no body to counfel him. we fe dayly that fernantes wha they fe the going out of the cabel of lyfe, care not for the clefing of their loades vices. And therof cometh, that as foone as he is deed, Areight way beginneth to flinke. And fo I fay that the ende of his lpfe is the beginninge of his infamp. All they that were there, as well the olde feruantes as the newe, belonginge to themperour, capitaines of warre & other, were nat a lyttel abached of the farence of Danutius, and they all allowed his fayinge, and fayde he was worthy to have the governaunce of thempire. The good emperoural the leafon that Panutius spaake, wept with Depe fighes fro bis harte. And bytaule he was fo fore areued, he coude not forthwith que him an answere : at the lafte be commanded Panutius to apue hom in writing al that he had fayde to thentent that he might fludy theron. for he lapo, it was no refon, to forget thinges fo wel faid. So all the rest of that night the Secretarie occupied him felfe to put in writing the same sapenge: and the next day he delpuered it to themperour, whiche toke hit and loked theron all the day; and kept it ftyl in his handes, and ofte times redde theron, And the next npaht themperour fente for the Secretarie, a in open audiéce be laid as foloweth.

The anfwere of themperour to Panutio.ca. rlii.

Happy was the inplke that thou luckedlt in Dacie, & the bread of thou dyddeft eate at Rome, a the letnyng that thou haddelt in Athenes, and thy bringing by in my house,

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hous. for in my life thou hafte well ferued me, and at mp Dethe thou hafte well counsapled me. I commande Coma modus my fonne to rewarde the for thy good feruice. Ind I pray the goddis to recompence the for thy councel. The reward for biuers feruices a ma may make: but p reward for good councel al the goddis had nede to bo. The gretiff rewarde that one frend may do to an other, is in a great & weightie matter to fuccour him with good counsell. Al & trauailes of the worlde are weightie, but the trauaple of bethe is the weightieft: all be perillous, but that is mofte perillous: all ben great, but this is the greteft:al thingis bath an ende at last by beth, faufe only beth, whose ende is buknowe. De that is burt with orthe, is as her is ficke of the fleping euill, having a quicke understanding a pet be knoweth no man: a many thinges beinge offered to him, be can determine bpon none.pet againe I fap he is a true and faithfull frende, that in fuch tyme wil give good cour sell to his frende. Al they that here this that I say, wil say that it is true. But I (weare, that no man can knowe bit perfitely, but he that is in cafe that I am in redye to dye. Arii. vere bath ben the cours of my lyfe, and nowe deathe commaundeth me to close myn eies, a to folowe the cours of beth. Dozeouer as thou knowell not the infirmitie, fo thou approcheft not to the cure and helth. The dolour is not there as thou halt made defensives, it is not the fiftus la where against thou hast given cautere, it is not ageinst opilations that thou half given firopes, it is not in beps nes o thou half giuen me incifion : Thou half not wel he= led the wounde that thou haft flitched me. I fay that thou muft entre further in me to knowe perfitcly myne acceffe. The lighes that procede fro the botom of my hert can not be understanden with heringe of them: the goddis alonly know of thoughtes of o bart. Also divers things ar in me that

that I knowe not of my felfe, no moze than that is with out me. D Danutius thou accufeft me that I feare beath. To feare it greatly, I beny it : but I confesse to feare it as a man. Certaynly to benie that I feare not beathe, than I mufte benpe that I am not made of flefhe . We fe that the Dlyphant feareth the lyon, and the beare feareth the olyphant, and the wolfe feareth the beare, and the Gepe fearethe the wolfe, and the ratte the catte, and the catte the bogge, and the bogge the man, and all onelpe thep; feare is, that they diede to be flapne. Than if these brute bestis tefule Dethe, not fearinge the frahtringe with furious fpi= tites, not the entoyenge with the goddis: howe moche tas ther than ought we to feare the dethe! for we are in doute to be tozne in pieces with the furies in they? pernes, orto be recepued in pleasure with the goddes. Therfore I sap, that the naturall feare of beath, I have over come with the bridell and lpberties of reason. Thinkelt thou Panus tius, that I fe not my graffe walted, and my grapes gathered, that my house breaketh, and that I baue nothing lefte but the flocke of the grapes, the farme of the fleffe, and but one onelp blafte of all mp lpfe ! Thou feelt well, that by the tokens the exercise is sene. And nettes be call in the rivers, and in the parkes bulles bene chased . I sap that the rumour of death holdethe in fauetie the lyfe that is in me, at this houre redy armed agaynst dethe. I make bataple with death, at this house baraine and naked of lyfe: and fo redy to entre in to the fepulchre: at this houre I Chall entre in to the campe, where as I Chall not be gored with bulles, but shall be eaten with wormes : and fynally I hall go fro whens I can not flee. Thus I hope abydynge beth. Ind this I fay bycaufe thou thalt knowe that I knowe it, and that thou halt fele that I fele. Ind to the entent thou lyue unbegiled I will tell the a fecrete. The

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fecrete. The nouelties that thou haft fene in me as, in ab= horrynge of meate, bereupnge of flepe, liupng alone, we= rynes of company, decompange in frakes, and paftyme in weppnae: Thou mapft well thonke, what turment ought to be in the fee of my harte, whan fuche tremblynges and motions of crthe and repnes are fet in the crthe of my bos by. Shal I hewy, wherfore my body is in this thought. and my herte in fuche trouble ! The caufe why I fuffre bethe lo greuoufely, is that I leave my fonne Commode in this lyfe in a peryllous age for him, and fulpectous for thempire. By the floures the fruites are knowen and the bines in burgening: by the colt the hors is knowen, whe= ther he Chall be meke og ftubbogne fog labour og cariage: & in the youthe the ponge man is knowen: and by the lytel that I fe in my lyfe by my fonne Commode, I feare me it well be leffe afcer my deth. Thou knowelt not who I fav thus. And I fay it not without cause: for my sonne Com= mode is bery younge, and pet ponger in wytte. De is of an pll inclination, but he be forced : he gouerneth hom felfe by his owne wytte and bnderftadying, as though he were a man of experience: he knoweth but lyttelle, and carethe for nothunge. Of the tyme palled he hath no knowledge: all onely he occupieth hym felfe with the tyme prefent. fis nally by that I fe with myn cies, and thinke in my harte, I feare me the persone of my sonne shall be in perpli, and the memorie of his fathers howle perplibe, faultyne his mother hath fostred hom to delycately : and by a hard sto= no grounde he hath a great way to go. De entreth as now alone into the pathe of youth without any guybe. I frare me he chall goo out of the tright way, and wander in the bulbes and thornes of vices. D Panutius, harken what I fap, I fap it not without teares, thou feelt that my fon temagneth tyche, gonge, and at libertie. Kyches, pouthe, folyta=

folitarines, and lybertie ben. iiii. pestilences, that enpoyfone the prince, and walte the common welthe: but flecthe them that be a lyue, & infameth them that be beed. Beleue me one thonge : bouets graces are requilite to fuften Di= uers bertues. with the fairest women the brothel houses are peopled, the moofte bilarnes are made ruffiens : the most chardye are robbers in woodes : the quickest of bn= berstandynge ofte proue fooles: and the moofte subtylle becom theues. I fay that fuch as are clothed with opuers graces of nature, lacke the furres of acquired bertues. ace may fay, they hold in their hades a knyfe, wher with they ftryke and hurte theym felfe : fire on their fhulbers, wher with they been : and a coade about their necke, wherwith they hange: daggers at their stomacke, wherwith they are flavne: thomes at they? feete, wher with they are packed: a ftony way afoze their cies, where they ftomble, and fromblynge fall, and fallynge they lefe their lpfe, and wonne Dethe. The great trees of whom we haue fruite in wenter, and Chadowe in Commer, first be planted the rotes fast in the entraples of the erthe, oz euer theyz waucringe boughes are aduentured in the wynd. Marke Panutius marke well. The man that from his youth hath fet before hom the feare of the goddis, and the chame of men, is habited in Vertues: 4 he that accompanieth with them that be bertuous, maintepneth trouth to euery ma, and lyueth without prefudice of any man. Malicious fortune mave fomtyme cleue the barke of the welth of suche a tree, wyther the floure in his youthe, breake the leaves of his fauour, gather the fruite of his trauapile, breake bowne a bough of his offices, a bowe downe the height of his coucell: pet for al the ftrockes that the wond can ftricke, it can not be plucked by by the rote. Certapnely the sonne that the father hath endewed with graces, and the sonne appli enge

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ence bym in bices, ought not to be borne in this worlde: Aif he be borne, to be buried quicke. for the fathers [weat by day, and watche by nyght, to leue honour to they chil= ben, whiche the fathers bre of the goddis with fighes . & the mothers delyuered of them with peine, and bring the by with trauaple: and the chyloe prouethe fo, that he ayueth greuous age to the father in his lyfe, and great infas my after his beth. I consider wel, that the prince Comode beinge ponge and I olde, ageinst his wel forbare bices, & I fere me that after my beth he wyl hate bertues. I remebre divers of his aege have enherited the empire, whiche were so hardy in their lyues, that they deserved to be called trantes after their dethes. Exaple of Denys renow= med tirat of Speill, which hired them that coude invente bices, as our Kome rewardeth them o conquere realmes. What gretter tiranny can be in a tyrat, than to make moft printe to him the that be victous! Allo I forget not & foure kinges, that succeded after great Alexader, as Ptholome, Anthroco, Siluio, a Antigonus, which the arckes called great tirantis: al that Alexader had gote with renowmed triuphes, they loft by their viciousnes. And in this maner the world & Alexader had devided among them.iiii. came to the handis of mo than foure. C. foz Antigon? Let fo litle by that had cost his losd Alexader so moch a was so light in his age, a fo bold in his realme, o in mockery in of fede of a crowne of gold, he ware a gardland of Juic: ain fed of a scepter, he bare a thyftle in his right hande : and after that maner he wold fpt among his men, a wh an he fpake to frangers. I lay thame to the yong man fo to bo, but I meruaile that the ladde and wple men of Grece luffred it. Taremembre also Caligula the. titi. emperour of Rome a yonge man, in whose tyme it was harde to knowe, whis the was the greater, eyther the disobedience of the people X.ii. to their

to their loide, or the hatred that the loide bare to the people. And this younge prince wente lo farre out of the wave in his youthe, and was so farre wyde from reason in his transies, that cuerye man studied howe to take his lyfe from hym: The studied to slee every man. He wrote these wordes in a table of golde: Wolde to god that all isome hadde but one heed, to the entente that with one stroke I

myght ftryke it of.

If also remembre Tyberie, some adoptive of good Auguste, called August, bycause he augmented Kome. But this good olde prince dyd not so moche augment it in his lyse, but this younge successour distroyed it moch more aster his deathe. The hate that the Romayne people had agaynste Tyberic in his lyse was ryght welle shewed after his dethe. For the same day that he dyed, or whan he was slayne, the people made dyners processions, and the senatours offred great gystes in the temples, and the priestes offred great facrisces to their goddis, to thentent that they shulde not recepue the soule of the sayd Tiberie into their glorie; but to sende it to the suries of Hell.

Tallo I mynde Patrocle the seconde kynge of Corpnethe, whiche enherited the realme beinge but this pere of age, and he was so vicious of his body, and so lyberall of his mouthe, that where as his father helde the realme. Ir.

pere, he postested it but.rrr. Dayes.

Talso the auncient Tarquin the proude, the. bis. kynge of Kome, whiche was ryght goodly in gesture, right balyant in armes, and of a cleane bloudde: as an binhappye prince defyled all his vertues with noughty lyuringe: in suche wise that he converted his beautie into lechery, his power into trasny, for the villary that he dyd to Lucrece the chaste lady of Kome: wherehy he lost not onely his realme, but the name of Tarquin was banyshed for ever

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Tremembre cruelle Aero, whiche enherited and oped ronge: a in him ended the memorie of the noble Cefars: and by hom was renewed the memory of Antygones the triantes. Whom thinkest thou this tirant wolde suffre to lyue, whiche flewe his owne mother? Tel me I pray the, what harte is that of a chylor, to flee his owne mother, to open the breftes that he lucked, to fed the bloode of her that nourified hom in her armes, and to beholde the entrayles, wherin he was fourmed ? What thynkeste thou, that he wolde not have done, fith he commytted fuche an ploede: The day that Aero flew his mother, an ogatour fapd in the fenate, that a grippine his mother had deferued Deth for chylopinge luche a chyloe in Kome. Thele thre bapes that thou hafte fene me fo altered in my mynde, all thefe thynges came befoze me : and I have dawen theym into the depenes of my harte, and disputed them. This fonne of myn holdethe me in the gulfe of the fec, betwene the wawes of feare, and the ankers of disparce, hoppinge that he fhulde be good, bycaufe I have nourpffed hom well, and fearinge that he foulde be pil, bicause his mo= ther faultine bath brought hym bppe wantonly, and the ponge man is inclined to pll. And as pe fe athrnge made by artifice perplye, and a naturall thinge lafte: I am in great feare, that after my bethe he wyll tourne that wave that his mother hath chylded hym, and not as I have no= tythed hym. D how happy were I, if I had neuer a child to leue behynde me to be emperoute Then a chyld myght be cholen amonge children of good fathers, and I Gulde not have ben troubled with him that the goddis have ap= uen me. Panutius I demaunde one thonge of the, whether thou callest moste fortunate Maspasian the naturalle father of Donutian, ozels Aerug the father adoptife of Traian? X.III.

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Traian? Mafpalian was good, and Aerua berp good, & Domitian was of all other moofte cruelle, and Trapane the myrour of all clemency. The regard how Mafpafian in the fortune to haue children was bnhappy, and Acrua in the impffortune to have chplozen, was happy. I knowe not why thele fathers belire to haue children, lith they ben the occasion of so moche trauaple. D Panutius, I wille fay one thing to the, as a frende to a frend (as thou kno: welt wel we be in this worlde) I haue lyued. Irii. peres, in whiche trine I haue redde many thinges, and haue herd, fene, beliced, attepned, poffeffed, fuffred, and refted moch, and nowe at this tyme I must bye : and of al thing I that beare nothyinge away, bycaufe both it and I are nothing, Gret befpnes the hart hath to ferche for thele goodes, and great trauaple to come to them : but without comparison the greatteft bolour is at the houre of the beth to Departe and leave them. what greatter difeafe can be to the body, than fodernely to be furpailed with ennemies , what petille of the fee or loffe of frendes can be egalle, to fe a bertuous man dawe to his beathe, to leue the fweate of his face ! the auctozitie of the empire, the honour of his per: fone, the company of his frendes, the remedye of his Dets tours, the rewardinge of his feruantes, and to leave it to a chyloe, that hath not merited it, no; bath not the power to well to merite it.

In the. ir. table of the lawes were thefe wordis writte: ace comaunde and orderne, that every father, who in the opinion of all men is good, shall differite his some that is pll in every mans opinion. Allo every chyloe, what foo euer he be, that dishobepeth his father, and robbeth any tenle, or hurt any wydowe, fo that the blede, flee fro the bataple, o; do any treason to a ftranger, who so euer is foud in any of thele fpue cales, lette bim be banpfhed for cuet the

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I In good foth this lawe was good, and in the tyme of Quintus Cincinate hit was orderned, and nowe by bs whiche be bnhappy it is cleanc lefte and forgotten . Da= nutius without doubte I am werp to fpeake, and alfo I have suche an impediment in my stomacke, that I wante brethe: or elles I coulde wewe the all by order, if myne binderstandpinge fayled me not, howe manye Warthiens, Mediens, Miriens, Caldiens, Indiens, Egypcyens, Debrewes, Grekes, and Romannes haue lefte they chyl: dien poore, and myght have left them tyche: and all was bicause they were vicious: and other chyldren that were bery pooze, were lefte ryche, bycaufe they were good and pertuous. I swere to the by the immortal goddes, that whan I came fro the warres betwene the Parthiens and Kome, and that the triumphe and glorve was avuento me, and my Conne confyrmed to be emperour: I wolde the Senate habbe lefte me my fonne Commodus poore with all his byces, and that I hadde made the Senate heire a lozde to the empire: and to have chastised hym to the example of all the worlde. I will that thou knowe. I hall carte five thynges with me out of this worlde intermedled, the whiche is great followe to my harte: The frifte is, that I have not determined and judged the plee and processe of the noble wydowe Drusta with the Senate, seinge that the is very pooze, and hath noo bodye to Doo her Auftree : The seconde is breause I doo not bre in Rome, to the intent that I myght cause to be cried and proclaymed every where in Kome er 7 dyed, to wyte if a= ny complayned on me: the thyro is, that where as I opd flee.riiit.tyzantes that budyd the countrepe, that I habbe not as well banythed all the Dirates that kepte the fees: the

the fourth is, that I left my bere fonne Tleriffimus Deed: and the. b. that I have lefte alpue, as hetre to the empire my fonne Commodus. D Danutius, the greatteft happe that the goddis can give to a man (not coverous but ber: tuous) is to apue hym renoume in his lyfe, a a good heire to conferue him after his Deathe. fynally to conclude. T pray to the goodis, if I hall baue any parte with theym, that if by my fonnes offences Rome be fclaundied, and my renoume mynifhed, and my hous loft by his lyfe, that they wyll take away his lyfe pet or 7 ope.

Twhat themperour farde to the marfters of his fonne. and to the rulers of thempire. Cap. rliii.



Se you aunciente fathers a noble Ro mayns, and ryght farthfull feruantes take pepne and forowe for that I mult pelde me to bethe, and leave this lyfe, and treate with my fepulchie. Ye folow for my lozowe, pe are tourmented with mpn angupthe, a pepned for mp pepne:

it is no meruaplie. for the clere biderfandynge of the pure blod of true and farthful frendes, is to double their trauaples and to wepe for other; if one brute beaft mome for an other, moch more ought one humanne creature for rowe for an other. And this I fap, bycaufe I know by the teares of pour eres, the felpinge of pour hartes. And fithe that the greatteft rewarde for any benefite is to know it, and thanke the partie therof: as moche as I can, I thake you. And if my weake thankes be not correspondent to pour pitiefulle weppinge, I require the goddis after they hauetaken aware my lyfe, to rewarde you fog my duetie. It is greate pleasure for the familie to knowe their make

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fter go with the goddis, and great pepne to him to leave them. for company of many peres is loth to leue the life. In my life tyme I have bone with you as I ought to bo, and as nowe I must bo as I may. The goodis wol take my foule away, Comodus my fonne the empire, the fepul chie my bodye, and ye my speciall frendes my herte. And fothly it is reason, that lith ye were in the lyfe my hartes, that it be yours after my beth. And in that I will speake moze particuler this night shall be our reasoning. Rowe my harty frendes ye fe, that I am come to the ende of my lafte tourney, and to the begynninge of my firfte tourney with the goddis. It is reason, that fyth I have loued you in tyme paft, that pe beleue me nowe. for the tyme is com that pe can demande notying of me: no? I have nothinge to offre you:noz myn eares as now can not here flateries. noz my harte fuffre importunities: pf pe neuer knewe me, knowe me now. I have ben he that I am, and am he that bath ben, in tymes paste lyke buto you, somewhat: nowe pele I am but lettell, and within a lettell whele I chalbe nothpinge. This daye Mall ende the lyfe of Marke your frende, this daye Chall ende the lyfe of Marc pour patent, this day that ende the fatall destenies of Marc pour lozde, this day thal ende the fignozie of Darke your emperour, and this day Mal ende his empire. I have banquylibed many, and nowe I am ouer come with beth: I am he that hath caused many to bye, and I can not as now grue my felfe one day of lyfe: I am he that hathe entred into chatiottes of golde, and this daye I hall be layde on a biere of woode: I am he for whome many have fonce merply, and this day they wepe : I am he that hath had company in all exercites, and this day I hall be gruen to hungry womes: I am Marcus greatly renoumed, that with fa= mous triumph mounted into the high capitolle, and this daye

day with forgetfulnes I that discende in to the sepulche. I fe nigh with myn eies, that was farre byd in my berte. And as the goddis be fauourable to you in this worlde, a equalle and fauourable to me in an other worlde, as my flefte neuer toke pleasure to paffe this lyfe, but my barte was fodamely taken with the feare of deathe: than take no pepue for me, for epther I mufte fee the ende of pou , o: pou of me . I pelbe greatte thankes to the goddis, that they take away this old person to rest with them, and leue pou ponge for to ferue in thempire. for there is no com: parplon for to fpeake of Deathe to the lyfe, nor to efcheme the Dethe at the houre therof. And yet I wyl not beny, but Too feare bethe, as a mortal man. Whan the lyfe palleth there is no paudence in a paudente, noa bertue in a bertuous, not lotoflyp in a lotde, that can take away the feate of the spirite, noz pepne of the flesche. At this tyme the fowle and the flefthe are fo combrned and fo conglutinate to arther, and the spirite with the bloude are so annexed. that the leparation of the one from the other is the mooft terrible, and the last terrible of all terriblenes. Certayne ly it accordeth buto good reasone, that the sowle beparte polozoully, leauvinge the flethe botto wormes, and the bo: by as enuious to fe the foule go and fporte with the god Des. D what lyttell thoughte we take in this lyfe , butylle we falle grouelynge with our eyes bppon Dethe . Beleut me, Sythe I have palled from when ye be, and have ep perimented that pe do fe, that is the banities of bs that are payne, is so agreable to be, that whanne we begynne byll at to lyue, we pmaapne that our lyfe wylle endure a holle worlde, and whanne it is ended, hit femeth be to be but a puffe og a blafte of wynde. And bycaufe than fenfualitie bet mp pepneth for fenlibplitte, and the flethe for the flefthe, reabe as ff fon gupded with them that be mortall tellethe me, that it tet amo pepnethe

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perneth not with the Departynge. If I have lyued as a brute beafte, bit is reason that I bre as a discrete manne ought to do. I drenge, this day thall dre all my freknes, bungre hall bre, colde hall bre, all my peines hall bre, my thought hall bre, my bispleasure hall bre, and eueer thinge that grueth perne and forowe. This dave the night Chall be taken away, and the some Chyne brighte in the faie: This dave the rufte fall be taken fro myn eies. and I fhall fee the fonne clerely: This dave the way thall be made fmothe for to goo righte: this is, the dare fall ende the tournere, wherin I hall not diede the staves of fortune. I thanke the goddis immortall, that have fuffered me to lyue fo clerely, and foo longe a tyme . This bay I hall have an ende of all bnhappy bestenpes of en= uious fortune, and not they of me . Of trouthe if the god= bis baue commaunded my flesshe to be broden in the se pulchie, and to be as mortalle: pet if they be fuffe and boo well, they wil make my renoume to be immortal, bycaufe Thaue lyued wel. Than fothe I chaunge this werve life and company of menne, for the swetenes of the goddis, and the doubtes of fortune for this fure lyfe, and greate and continuall feare for perpetuall peace, and this pile and naughty corrupte lyfe for good renowine and glore, I thynke beryly this shuld be none yll chaunge.

Beleut This nowethre score and two yetes syth the erth hathe have expected and fedde the erthe of my bodye: It is nowe by that the erthe knowledge me for her some, and I will also take her for my mother. Aerely it is a pytiefull mother, that wylle nowe take me into her entraylles for the but a cuer, sythe that I have soo longe space troden her wishfulling the my feete. And yet though that I were as I am, for to the, read be as she is, I am in certain that the wolde kepe me sub, that it ter among her wormes, that kome among the senatours.

Y,tt. And

And al though it be paynefulle to you, if it plefe the god: des to have it thus, no ma can excuse noz scape it. I buld be right wel cafed, if this webbe were broken, and nip pof fellion taken in the Sepulcre. Than Chulde I haue the frest thrug propre of men owne, and perpetuall without any feare of lefinge therof. All thonges mostal, that mostalle folkes haue, and the enuve of them that be enuious may be broken, except the deth and the Cepulcre, the whiche are privileged from enraged hongre of enup. I le pou wel hedynge teres from your eies, and reife heup fighes frome the depenes of your hartes . Wylle ve not that I thulde delvre death, lithe the philitions aque me but the houres of lyfe : and there are conteyned in me. iii. 90. yes res of pernes, the length wherof is a cyronisme of Deth. And yet though our Debilite be weake, yet for al that our honour is fo lenfible, that at the houre of dethe, the more that the bones dischargeth them of the flethe, the moze is the hert charged with thoughtes. In maner that whan the linewes butte them from the bones of the body, than newely they tre agarne a foose knotte to the herte. Aowe lette bs leaue fpeakynge of that towchethe particularly my felfe, and speake we in generalle of that is conveniente to a yonge Prince, and to you that are his tutours and may fters.

Te se here my son Comodus only prince and heire, a-bydynge so, the heritage of thempire: neyther so, beyng good, that he meriteth praise, no, so, being yl represe. So, he hath taken his naturalitie of the goddes, and his not ture among you. Dyners tymes whan he was a chylde, ye toke hym in your armes, to thentent that nowe he is a man, ye shulde sette him in your hertes. Hytherto he hath taken you so, this maysters: and nowe at this tyme, he muste repute you as his fathers. Ind whiles I spued, ye

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helde hym for your prince in nourplifyinge hym, for your emperour in feruing him, and as pour parent in helping hym, and as your fonne in teachynge hym. Dytherto pe onely helde him charge, as father, mother, and mayfters: be is nowe as a newe flyppe put this daye in to the right fce, fletying to the botomies (wolowe, where as the fayles of prosperitie will make hym fall, and the rockes of bn= happynes well drowne hym. Than amonge fo many bn= postunate wyndes and buftable waters, there is greatte necellitic of good oozes. Surely Jam berp for for thempire, and have great compassion of this ponge prince, and fuche as wolde his welthe, Mall more bewarlle his lyfe than my dethe. for fcapynge fro the fee I fe my felfe at a good fure porte, and bppon mayne lande, and leave hym the (weate and trauaple. for as pet he knoweth not howe to aduenture to faple on the fee: noz pet knoweth not whether be thal abyde the age of my long experience, no; whether he shall be a reasonable emperour or no. But whatte hall forowfull Rome Do, whan it hath noury hed a good papice, and that fatall destenies maketh an ende of hom, or that by enuy of them that be pll he is flayne? or the ctueltie of the goddis taketh hym away: 02 that the body by his owne propre handes be lefte by in fuche wefe, that in therperimet of princes, al the life tyme parteth in beway= lynge of the youthe of yonge princis, and the gravitie of theyr auncient princis palled. Dif thele princis beleued at the beginninge of they empire, other kinges that are fapled in the worlde, howe they be taught when it is fo im postable for one man without charge to rule fo many res almes, and he boinge nothynge but take they goodes, tobbe him of his renoume, banishe thep; persons fro him, and he to ende his lyfe, and his subtectes augmente they? folowes: and fith he is but one, he can doo no moze than p. tit. one.

one, though druers hope that he doth for all. Regarde in what my fauenture a prince lyueth, whan the least villagn in Italy thinketh, that al only for hym and on hym alone the prince letteth his eies. Ind lith the worlde is fo changeable, and the people to buruly, the day that a prince is crowned and exalted with a sceptre reall, the same dave he submitteth his goodis to the couctous, a all his estate to the femblaunce of other. Thus than in this the goddis thew they; power. for al the buderstandinges are tacked to one free wyll. The femynge of all they condemne, and alowe but one. They give the Domination to one, and the Subjection to many. To one they apue the chastisemente of all, a not all to the chastisement of one. for the taste of many, they give meate but to one: the favour wherof is fwete to some, and sowe to other: to some remarneth the bone, and to some the fleshe: at the last some be ozowned a other be hyndred, at the end al haue an ende. I wold demand of you that be most familiar, what is the crowne of thempire, or the sceptre of gold, or the coler of perles or p= cious frones, or rubes of Alexader, or beffel of Corinth, or chariottes of triuph, 02 what offices of Confules 02 dictatours are defired in change of their reft fog it is certaine, they can not attayn to the one, without lefing of the other. And this is the cause of there be pl mariners, a to hardy pi lottes, for they fle fro the fee to the lande, a fro the land to the fee. One thing I wil fap, p is ageinft my felf:euerp ma hateth warre, a no man feketh for peace. Al forowe for one that is angred, and none is cotent to appeace, al wold comande, but none wil be comaunded. This hath ben in the world palled, a now at this prefent tyme men be fo light, p they rather chose to comand with peril, than to obey with reit. Seinge that my dapes are biminifed, amp fickenes augmented, suspecting that I fenow, whan I retur ned

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ned fro the warre of Speil, I Determyned to make my tes stament, the whiche ve may le here: Dpen and beholde it. and therby pe shall fe, howe I leave you to be mapsters of mp (on, pet in loue and fibelitie pe be to gyther all as one. Great perpil the prince is in, and the common welth in an pll aduenture, where as be many intentions amonge the governours. Certapnly the princis are glorious, and the people well fortunate, and the fenate happy, whan all a= arce in one councell, and that the counsaplers be ancient, and many of them, and all their intetions agree byon one thinge. Whan this was in Rome, it was feared and bred oftirantes, havinge their confultations approued with iii. C. barons. And though their reasons were divers vet their willes and intetis were all one for the comon welth. Toefire and confure you by the goddes, that we be all frebeg in convertation, and conformable in councell. All the weake debilites in a prince may be fuffrid, except pl coucel: and all defautes of counfaillours are tollerable, excepte enup a ire. Wha the freting worm called a mothe, entreth amonge them, it caufeth perille in Juftice, dishonour to the prince, sclaunder in the comons, and parcialite in the superiours. The counsayler that hath his minde ouercom with ire, and his herte occupied with enuy, and his woz= des outragious to a good man, it is refon that he lofe the fauour of the goddis, his privitie with the prince, and the credence of the people. For he presumethe to offende the goddis with pll intention, to ferue the prince with pl coucel, and to offende the common welth with his ambition. D howe ignozant are thefe princis, that take here of fuch herbes & benims that inpatte poplon them in their meates, and care not for the porton that they of they printe coulaple do apue them ! Doubtles there is no coparison, for the herbes and porlons can be given but on one bave: but

but the benyme of vil councevil is given every houre. Wenym is defended by the home of an bnicome, by tryacle, and otherwyle by bomites : but the porlon of pll councell bath no remedy, and leffe defentiues. And finally I fave, that the benym apuen by an enmy can but flee one empecour in Rome, but the poplon avuen by hym that is mofte papute to eupli councell, fleeth the jemperour, and biftro: peth the common welthe . And where as euery bertuous prince letteth more by perpetual renoume than this falli: ble lyfe, re bringe governours of thempire, and mayfters to my sonne, they that owe hym yll wyll have not so moch power ouer his lyfe, as ye have boon his renoume. Ther fore if he be awaked by his enmies fraungers, mochera: ther he ought to be awaked amonge his domefticalt fren-Des. Dne thinge I commaunde as to mp feruantes, and I delpze pou as my frendes, that ve thewe not your felfe To patur openly, as ye be in fecrete: to thentent that fome feme not as natural fonnes, and other as hired feruantes. De that is bertuous, oughte to have great regarde to the profite of his lorde fecretely, and to be of meke converla: tion with every man openly, els his privitie wyll not loge endure, and the hate of the prince with the people wpl in creace. Oftentymes I haue redde of our predecessours, and I have fene it in the prefent Romannes, whan many holde with one, that one holdeth but lyttell with dyuers, and leffe with many, the whiche kepeth they; willes as fat of, as the persons be nigh. And sith the place of the time, and buftablenes of fortune neuer leauethe any thonge in one cafe, but all is as in maner of a breme: the most fure purchase is to flee fro peril, for then whathe princes haue paffed they; plefures entermedled in trauaples, they ferche for many and finde not one. Therof cometh, that one present for feare well withdrawe hom, and an other out of fauout

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fauout and ablente well not come. I well thewe you one thringe, the whiche you hal alway put in my fonnes mes morie: They that in our trauaples have betermyned of a longe fefon to apply them, we ought to wrnne they good willes. The wily labourer in one pere laboureth to gette comes together, and in an other pere he loweth and gadereth. Be not to presumptuous, for the presumption of an aunciet prince, forboth the auctoritie of the ponge prince: vet for all this disparre nor rebuke him not to moche: for the lacke of maners in the state of a loade engendeth bn= hamefaftnes in him, and boldenes to the feruant. I haue lefte in my tellament the prince Comodus for your fonne. and you for his fathers. But I wpl and commande that every man knowlege him to be their load, and to be at his commaundemente. And re my other feruantes and fubie= ctes to be in his obedience, and in al his high befineffes to be well guyded as his frendes and louers . Justice ought to be fene to, by wyfe ozatours, accordynge to the opinion of you that be his governours. And always the determy= nation to be done by the papice, whiche is loade of al. One councel I wyll apue you (and if you fynde it pl, blame me afore the goddes) whereby the empire of my sonne shalbe ftable and permanent in Rome, and your privette fure in his hous, if your counselles be moved by reason, and his well ruled by your councels . I defpre fooze that pe be not couetous: and therfore I have apuen you dyners apftes and thankes in mp lyfe, to take couetoulnes from you a= fore my bethe. At were a mostrous thing and berpe bred= full, that suche as ought to refrance couetise fro straungers, to have they owne handes open for they owne pro= preluctes. The vertuous prine men, ought notto do all theyl that they may noz to defyre all that they may attern buto, to the intente that the prince ague thepm foo moche goodes

goodes for the profite of their houses, as pepne and enuy of the people to their perfons. And as in meane flyppes men scape best in a meane see, soner than in great carrac= kes in the wawes of the rozinge and impituous fees: in lykewife fuche as be in meane estate among them that be but meanly enutous, lyue more furely, than fuche as are fette in high effate and primitie beinge ryche, to be paffyoned amonge ennemies, that disdaynfully wold put them bnder. It is a notable rule amonge wife men, and an infallible experience amonge them that be good, a I thinke that by heringe therof the pil Chall knowlege it : The alotie of one amonge great men maketh ftryfe, suspection in them that be egal, and enuy amonge them that be meane. One thinge, that they that gouerne well, ought to have, is liberalitie. The leffe pe be couetous, the moze pe shalbe lyberal. for with the rage of couctousnes the right of Tu= fice is mynifhed. It is longe tyme lithe I betermyned to avue you the governing of thempire, and the nouriffing, of my fonne. And to have proupded to have avuen you largely of my goodes, to put the couetynge of other mens goodes from you. I warrant you one thing: if couctouf= nes be amonge you, and be enuted of your nerabbours, pe fhall lyue in pepne, and pour hartes fhall be pepned with other mens befineffes, and pour mindes fhalbe euer in suspect. Than that pe folow the Justice of other, where as ye that fe your owne ppze welth. One coucel fynally 3 wyl apue you, which I have take alway my felfe, Reuct commpt your honours to the my happes of fortune : noz neuer offre your felfe to perpli with hope of remedy. for fuspecious fortune kepeth alwayes her gates wybe open for peril, and her walles ben high, a her wyckettes narow to finde any remedy. And bycaufe I fele my felfe foze tras uapled, I pap you luffre me to reft a lyttel.

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Thow themperour at the houre of his death, fent for his fonne, and declared to him, who foulde go= uerne the Empire.cap.rliin.

hus a great parte of the night palled, and the day began to breake, and the life of this good emperour began falte to drawe to an enderpet for all that he lefte not the remediance of luch thynges as sholde be ordered after his death.

There were that tyme in the warre with him divers right excellent men fenatours of Bome: and in al thinges he the wed him felf right wife, a specially he wold never have a= ny bictous perfone in his howfe. De had euer in his coms pany. I. gentylmen knyghtes, a in eche of them be might haue put truft to gouerne Kome. Oftentymes this good emperour wolde fay, that princis lyued more furely with the gadzyng to them men of good lyuyng a conversation, tha with trefure of money fuffed in they; cheftes. Unhap pre is prince, that estemeth hym felfe happy to have his coffres ful of trefure, and his councell full of men of pl ly= uyng. Thefe malicious and pll men make princis poore: and a perfete man fuffifeth to make a holle realme reche. Surely this emperour layde well. for we do le daily, that what the father hath gotten in fiftye peres, the fon lefeth in halfe a pere. Than chulinge among many a fewe, and offewe to take the belt, this emperour appointed out. bi. notable barons: Thie of the to be mailters of his fon, 4.111. to be gouernors of thempire. One was called Partinar, whiche after was emperour: an other was called Dompes tano, hafvao to his doughter, as fure in coucell as he was aged in peres: The.iu. Oneo Patrocle of the ancient flock of the Dompcies, whiche was no leffe clene in this liuing than his heares were white: The.iii. was called Anduico

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which in goodlynes of his gefture , highnes of body, ber tue of courage, and wyledome in conscience, none was caalle to him in Rome : The. b. was named Bononius. whiche at that tyme was confule, and in the aunciente lawes berp experte: The last was called Juan Marius the good, and he was called the good, bycaufe that in. Ir. pere neuer man fawe hym do any ylle workes, nor harde hym speake an poel worde, nor do any thinge but it was profitable to the common welthe. Though in cafe they were al egall in gouernynge: pet I fay thefe lafte the were papircipall. for Juan Clarius particularly was left to be chief capitagne of the armpe, and to hom was beloucted all the treafure, and the testament was put into his handes: and with fore weping the emperour recommended to him the prince his fonne. Than whan the peine of his ficknes en= creaced, and that he loked for the houre of his deth, he comaunded to awake his fonne Comodus, whiche without any care was falte aflepe, and whan he was broughte into the presence of his father, it was greatte pitte to see the eien of the olde emperour fooze discoloured with wepping, and the cies of the some almost closed with sleppinge: the Conne was wakynge with finall thoughte, and the father coude not flepe for great thoughte and pepne. And whan he was in his prefence, feing the lyttell care that the fonne toke for the dethe of his father, and confidering the great Defire of the father for the good lyfe of his fonne, it moued to pitie the hartes of all the great logdes that were there, no leffe to leave the company of the good olde man, than the annoyance of the dealynge of the yonge prince: Than the emperour layde to his fonne thele wordes.

Twhat the emperour fayde to his sonne at the houre of his bethe. Cap. rlb.

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Ato thy maysters a my governours I have shewed howe they shall councel the: and now my sonne at this houre I say to the, how they (though they be but a fewe) all for the alone shall governe: and it is not to be taken in small

estimation. The mooste easyest thinge in the worlde is to give councel to an other : and the moste bardest and hieste thinge is a man to take it for him felfe. There is none fo simple a man but he may give good councel, though there be no nede. And there is none fo wpfe that wil refuse coun cell in tyme of necessitie. I se one thing that all take counfelle foz all, and at the laft take it foz hym felfe . Sonne 3 thinke accordynge to my heur fatalle destenies, and thyn pli customes, that one thinge hall not profite the, that is, if the lyttell goodnes that thou haft done was for feare of me in my lyfe, that thou wylte doo leffe whan thou hafte forgotten my Dethe. Too moze nowe for to latisfie my De= fire and the comon welthe, than for any hope that I have of the amendement of thy lyfe. There is not a worle complaynt, than that a man holdeth of him felfe. If thou my some be yl, Rome wyl complayne to the goddis, that they have given the fo pll inclinations: They will complayne of faustine thy mother, that bath brought the bp so wantonly: and they wylle complayne on thy felfe, that thou bofte not reframe the from bices: and they hall not com= playne of then old father, that hathe gruen the fo manye good counfelles. I am in certapne, thou haft not fo great bolour to fee the ende of this nyghte, and the ende of my lyfe, as thou halt pleasure to se the day that thou shalt be emperour : and I have no meruaple : for where as fenfu= alitie reigneth, reason is put aspde. Dyuers thinges are beleued bycaule they are not knowe certainly. D how ma ny thinges of trouthe ben there, that if they were knowen truely Z, iii,

truely they hulde be lefte. But we ben fo boubtful in eueep thing, and go about our bufineffis fo bartably and inconstantly, that sometyme our spirites breake the pours pole, and an other tyme they rodde by not of trouble no: hyndrance. I fay we be fo swifte to do pll, that sometyme we lefe by a carde of the mofte : and to do wel we be fo dul, p we lefe by a card of the lefte: a at the last we do nothinge but lefe . Sonne I wpl aduertyfe the by wordes, that I haue knowen in. lrii. pere by longe experience : and fythe thou arte my fonne and ponge, it is reason that thou beleue hom that is the old father. As we princis are regard of all men, and regarde al men, and are regarded of al o= ther, this day thou dolle enherite thempire of the worlde and the courte of Kome. I knowe well there be inowe in the court of princis, that know nothings what is to make them felfe of worthpres, and to marntern them felf amog fo many truperies as are treated in the houses of puncis. I lette the to witte, that in the court is aunciente paccialia ties, presente discention, fearefull binderstandinges, euis dente wittenelles, entraples of ferpentes, tonques of fcorpions, many detractours, and fewe that feke peace: and where as al men chuloe harken to the comon boyce, every man fercheth his owne proufite. Euery manne fewetha good pretence, and all are occupied in pll workes: In fuche wife, that some by auarice lese their good faine, and fome prodigally spende and waste all their goodes. What quide A save moze? In the courte enery day the lozdes chaunge and alter the lawes, awake ftryfes, and reple nopfes, abate noblenes, exalte the buwouthp, banpfpe innocetes, and honour theues, loue flatterers, and difpraple theym the whiche be vertuous, they embrace belites, and treade bertue under thep; fete: thep wepe for them that be plle, and laughe to scopne, theym that be good, and finals lye they

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In they take all lyahtnes for their mother, and bertue for they frepmother . And my fonne I fave moze buto the. The courte, the whiche thou halte enherpte this daye, is nothinge but a floppe with waares, and a howfe of bacaboundes, wheren some selle byle and corrupte thynges, and other bre lyes, some have credence, and somme have renowme, fome have goodes, and fome have lyung, and al to gither is but loffe of tyme: a that work of all is, they well not beleue the poplon therof, tyl it be at their hartes, they are so foly the and flurdy. Rome hath verye hye walles, and the bertues therof is bery lowe: Rome baunteth it selfe to be bery stronge in nombre of inhabitantes, and afterwarde Rome (hal wepe that there is moze people tha bertue, and byces are not accompted. In a moneth a ma might recken all the stones of the proude edifices, but in a. D. veres he mught not compute the maluces of his yll customes. I swere to the by the immortall goddis, that in thie peres I repaired all that was decaped in Kome, and in thirty yere I coude not refourme one quarter therofto good lyuinge. Good sonne beleue me, the great cities ful of good inhabitantes ought to be prapled, a not the great etifices. Our predecessours have triumphed on straun= gers as weake and feble: and nowe they maye triumphe on by alfo, as menne that be moze banqueffed with by= ces than any of the other. By the mightines and prowels fes of our predecessours, we that be nowe are greattely honoured and exalted: and by the smalle estimation of bs that be now, they that come after us thall be greatly atha= med. Dfa bery trouth it is a great fhame to fave, and no leffe infamp to boo, that the goodnes and trauaple of the auncientes (hulve now be turned and converted to folies and prefumption. App fon loke well on thy felfe, that the tepne of thy youthe, and libertie of the empire cause the not

not to commutte byce. De is not called onely free, that is free boine, but he that breth within the fame. D how wel are the sclaves borne, that after their beth are free by their goodnes ? 4 how many have died sclaves by they noughtynes, that were boine free! There is fredome where noblenes abroeth. The prowes of the persone that anue the moze hardines and libertie than thauctozitie of thempire. It is a generall rule, that every bertuous man of necessitie is to be holden hardye: and euery bicious man of neceffitie is to be reputed a cowarde. Aowe boldely they be chastised that be noted with any vice, and coldely they be chitifed that deferue chaltifement. Let the prince be in a certapn, that the love of his people, and the lyberte of his office hathe not wher with to beholde hym in armes fored aborde on the erth, without the druces bertues affembled in his persone.

TCertapuly Octaulus Celar subdewed mo nacions by the renoume of his bertues, than drode Baius his bucle with his army of many men. All the worlde ion of a bertuous prince: ait femeth that all the worlde rifeth ageinft a bicious prince. Mertue is a ftronge caftel, and can neuer be wonne: it is a ryner where nedeth no rowing, a fe that moueth not, a fire that quencheth not, a treasure that neuer hath ende, an army neuer ouercome, a burden that neuer werieth, a spie that euer retourneth, a spane that neuer decepued, a playn wave that neuer faylethe, a strope that healeth forthwith : and a renoume that neuer periftheth . D my fonne if thou knewest what thinge it is to be good, and what a man thou fhuldeft be if thou were ber tuous, thou woldest doo feruice to the goddes, good renoume to thy felfe, pleasure to thy frendes and engende loue of fraungers, and finally all the worlde shulde fere

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Tremembre, that in the boke of peres, of the battaplle of Carentyne, I founde, that the renowmed Pyrthus kynge of the Epyrothiens bare in a rynge graven these wordes: To a vertuous man is but a small rewards to be looke of all the erthe: and it is but a small chastisements to take a vicious mans lyfe fro him.

Trucky it was a worthy sentence of suche a prince. What

Trucky it was a worthy fentence of fuche a prince. What thinge is it, be it neuer fo difficile, begonne by a bertuous man, but there is hope to haue a good ende therof. Soth= ly I have fene in druers parties of mon empre, druerfe men bery derke of good fame, bery lowe in goodes, and buknowen of their kynne and bloud : budertake fo greate thynges, that to my femynge was a fearefull audacitie to begonne: And pet by the winges of vertue all onelye they have had good renoume at the laft. By the immortal gods bes, and as god Aupiter bypnge me in his mancion, and fablyfe the in all that is mone, There were ones a garopner and a potter, whiche owelled in Rome, And thep onely by their vertues were cause to putte oute tenne by= cious fenatours of the fenate, and the fratt occasion was for makinge a hedge of thorne, and a potte whiche thep wolde not pay theym for the workemanshyp and labour. I tell it the my fonne, bycaufe that byce maketh the boloe person thoughtefull : and bertue causethe hrm that is in thought to take frength and boldenes. I was well ware of two thinges in my lyfe: not to pleade agaynft the clere= neg of fuffice, noz to take part agapuft a vertuous perfon: for with bertue god luftepneth bs, and with Juftice the people are gouerned.

Cof other moze perticuler councelles given by the emperour to his fon.ca.rlvi.

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Dwe to come to thinges more particular. Seinge sonne that thou arte ponge, and that nature can not denye the: And as in all difficule thinges ripe councell is necessarie, no less to comfort thestate of our lyuing we desire some ir

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recreations . for thy pouth I leue & with gret lordes chil= Dien, with whom thou mapfe paffe the tome: And to teche the I leve olde Romanns that have nourifhed the and fer ued me, of whome thou shalt take councel. The muction of interludes of theaters, to fyfhe in podes, to hunt wild beaftes, to courfe in the feldes, to huake for byides, and to exercple bedes of armes are the thonges that the pouthe Defireth. And routh with routh ought to kepe companye in dorng the fame: But beholde my fon, that in ordering of armies, to applie the warres, to purfue bictories, to ac= cepte truce, to confirme peace, to reple tributes, to make lawes, to promote some, and dismisse other, to chastise the pll, and recompence the good : for councel in all thefe thin ges that be fo chargeable, they that be of elere mynde, teby broken and trauapled of their bodyes, and white hered ought to be take. And fith thou art poge a lufty of body, re toyce a sport with them that be ronge: and whan thou art emperour, in thy fecretes take concell of them that be old. Bewaremy fonne of all extremities. for as yll maye the prince be bider the colour of grauptie to be ruled by the auncient perfons, as buder colour of paltime to kepe copanye with ponge folkes . It is no generall rule, that all ponge persons shall alwayes be ponge and lyaht, nor that all olde persons shulde be always wife. I am in suretie of one thing, that if the ponge man be borne with folie, the olde man lyneth a dieth with conetife. Therfoze my fonne beware, be not extreme in extremities . for the pong people well corrupt the with their leghtnes, and olde folkes wyll

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well depayue the mende with their couetousnes. What thing can be more monstruous than a pance that comans deth enery man, to be commaunded of one? Sothely the governence of divers can not be governed well by the opinion of one alone. That the paice that governeth many, oughte to have the intention and opinion of deviers.

In the annales of the Dompeyens, I founde a lyttell boke of remembrance, the which the great Dompeie bare alway with hym: wherin were divers good councels and aductiscmentis, the whiche were given in divers parties of the worlde: Amonge the whiche I founde thefe wozbes: De that governeth the common welthe, and putteth the gouernance to them that are old, the weth hom felfe bit able: and be that trufteth in youth, is lyahte: and be that gouerneth by him felfe alone, is hardy and bolde: and he that gouerneth by him felfe and other, is wife. Thefe were notable wordes . Than my sonne determine the to take counfaylle, and specially in hyghe thynges, and difficile matters: and other wyfe lette theym not be determyned. for whan the counsaple is of druers taken, than if any faute be, it hall be deuided amonge them al. Though the betermpnation myght be done by a fewe, pet take councel of druers. Among al thy welthes, here the common councelle. for one well hewe the all the inconvenience, an nother the pervile, an other the domage, an other the protifytte, and an nother the remedye. And fette as well thyne eies bppon the inconveniences that they lave, as bppon the remedy that they offre . Whan thou begynneste any harde mattier, efteme as welle the smalle domages that mare befall afoze, and stoppe them, as to remedy the great inpsfortunes that come after. Df trouthe the ftronge and myghtye Chyppe ofte tymes for a smalle takynge bede of the pylotte, is founken and drowned in a lyttelle water : Ma. ii. and

and an other thyppe not to thronge, with wife diligence is faued in the gulfe of the fee. Be not annoyed to take cousel in small matters every houre. For many thinges forthe with requireth to be loked to, and in abyding for councel it endomageth. And that y thou canst dispatche by thyne owne auctoritie without domage of the comon welth, put it not to any other person. For sith thy service all only dependent of thyn, the rewarde dependent of the alone.

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In the perc. vi. C. rer. of the foundation of Rome, after the cruell warres done ageing the kynge of Aumedie, the day that Marius triumphed, without puttyng of any of the riches that he brought, into the comon treasure, he deuyded it to his men of warre. And whan he was therfore accused, and asked why he toke not first the opinion of the senate: He aunswered and sayde: Sythe they toke not the opinion of other to do me service, it were no reson that I should take councelle of other to rewarde and re-

compence them.

Son pet I will aduertife o of other thonges. Derad: uenture fom wyll apue the counsell er thou demande it : & in that cafe kepe this generall rule:neuer abide the fecode councell of a man, if he have given the councell befoze in the prejudice of an other. for he offreth his wordes in thy feruice to bringe the befrnes to his owne profite. D mp fonne, there are many thinges to knowe a man . Eb . pere I have ben fenatour, confule, cenfure, capitaine, and tris bune:and.rbiii.peres I have ben emperour of Rome, and divers have fpoken to me in prejudice of other, and many mo for their owne profite, and none have fpoken clercly to me for the profite of other, nor for my feruice. Great compaffion ought to be taken of princis: for every man foloweth them for their owne profitte, a none for loue and feruice, One councell I toke for my felfe all the whyle that I haue

Thave governed in Rome: I never kepte manne in mp hous after that I knewe hym batefull agaynfte the common welthe.

In the pere of the foundation of Rome. bi. C.lir. of the Dipmpiade. C. Irbitt. Lucullus Batricius, great frende to Sylla, goyng to the warre of Metridates, It chaun= ced that in Togoano a citie of Caldiens, he found a plate of coper or braffe byon the kynges gatis, wherin were cer tarne letters, whiche they fard were graven there by the commandement of Alexander the great, The letters were in Calbee, conternyng thefe fentences, That prince is not wife, that will holde his lyfe in pervil: and will not als fure his lyfe and fate with the love of al me: That prince is not bertuous, that in gluing moche to one person, wil= leth all other to have but lyttell: That prince is not rufte, that wyll fatysfie moze the couetife of one person, than to the boices of al men: That prince is a fole, that dispretty the councell of all other, and all onely trusteth bypon the opinion of one: And finally the prince is to bolde and harby, that for the love of one, wyl be hated of al other. These were wordes of eternall memory. And in dede thefe princis fhulbe have this always in they prefence. Sonne pet I fhall fay moze to the. This Lucullus Patrici9 brought into the Senate all the treasure that he habbe, and this plate with the lapde wordes theron, to thentent that thep Coulde chuse the one and leave the other. And the senate refused all the treasour, and toke the plate with the counfelles written theron.

Of opuers and partycular recommendations, whiche the emperour commaunded his fonne. Cap. rlbii. 3 haue

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Daue Chewed lyke a father, the thynge that toucheth thy welth : Nowe I will thew the what thou oughteft to Do after my Dethe for inp service. Those thonges that I have loued in my lyfe, if thou wilte be sonne to thy

father, efteme them after my Dethe. frafte my fonne I res commende to the, the worthyppynge of the temples, and the reverence of the prieftes, with the honour to the god= bis. So longe hall the honour of the Komayns lafte, as they perfeuer in the feruice of the goddis. The realme of the Carthaginens perpshed not bycause they were not so tiche of more cowardes than the Romanus: but bycause they loved their trefors to moche, a were but yll worthyp= pers and louers of the temples. App Conne Trecommende to the Belia the Repmother, a remembre that thoughe the be not then owne mother, pet the is my wefe: and on the pepne of my curlyng luffre not that the be pl intreted. for the domage that the thuld fuffre by thy cofent, thuld grue euidence of the small thought that thou takest of my deth, which shulde be an iniury to thy life. I have left to her the tributes and revenues of Hollie, for to marnteine her de= gre: and the gardens of Mulcan, which I caufed to make for her recreatio. And if thou take it fro her, thou fewelle then plnelle. And to luffre her to eniope it, I commaunde the by then obedience, and to thewe her the bountie and largelle. Remembre the is a Romain, yong, and a widow, of the hous of my lorde Traian, and howe the is thy mos ther adoptife, a my naturall wyfe: wherfore I leue her bu Der thy recomendation. Also I compt to the thy beetherne in law: 4 thp lifters my boughters I leue them al maried not with strage kinges, but with the natural inhabitates and citeling of Rome. They owell al within the walles of Rome, where as they may do the feruice, and thou maylt

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bo the good. Son intrete them in luche wife, that though their good father be dead, pet let them haue fauour. Ind though they le their bother emperour of Rome, pet let the not be defouled. Wome be of a right teder condition, they will complayne for a smalle cause, and for lesse they wille tife bp in pape, thou oughtest to conserve them after my beth, as I have bone in my life . for other wife their conuerfation foulde be fekyll to the people, and importunate to the. Alfo I comit to the Lipula thy lifter, that is amoge the birgins Tiestales, Thynke that the is doughter of thy mother faustin, whiche I have greatly loued in my lpfe, a bnto the houre of my beath I have lameted hers. Euerp pere I gaue to thy lifter.ii. D. ferters foz ber neceffities: the had ben as well maried as the other, if the had not be brent in the vilage : whiche was eftemed of euery man an pladuenture, and specially of her mother that wept alway foz her. But I efteme that plle aduenture a good foztune. for if the had not ben brent in the face with fire, the had in the worlde as touchyng her renoume be brent with divers tonges . Son I (were to the, o for the feruice of the god= des, 4 the fame of men, the is more furer with the birgins in the temple, than though the were in the senate with the fenatours. I deme that at the ende of the tourney the thall finde her felfe better at eafe closed and locked in, that thou with all thy libertie. In the province of Aucany, I have lefte for her the. it. 90. fexters: I will not that thou take them fro her. Alfo I comptte Daulia the wyddowe to the, which hath land a gret proces ageinst the senate bicause of by motios afore paffed her hufbao was banifhed: I have great compassion of her: for it is thre monethes suhe the put in her demaunde: and bycaufe of my great warres 1 coude not declare her iuftyce. Sonne thou Malte fynde bit trewe, that in errb evere, that I have governed Rome, there

there was never widowe that helde her processe before me paffinge, biti. bayes. Take compaffion of luche. for womens neceffities are tratte perplous, and at the lafte pf their belines be longe in hande, they recouer not fo moche of they goodes, as they lefe in they renowine. Alfo haue compassion of poore men, and the goddis shall rewarde the with areat trehes . Alfo T commette to the my auncient feruantes to whom my longe peres and cruel warres, my often necessities, the Displeasure of my bodye, and my longe fyckneffes bath ben traht parnefulle. for they as true feruantes to avue me lyfe haue taken pevne buto the beathe . It is reason that foth I have taken they Deth, & they enherpte parte of my lyfe. One thing I holde for certayne, In cafe that my bodye abyde in the fepulchie with wormes, pet I thall alwayes before the goodis have temembrance of them. In this bornge thou halt Doo as a good childe, to fatisfie them that have ferued the father. Take hebe my fon, euery prince Doinge Auftice acquireth ennempes in the execution therof. And this is done by the that are moofte nere to hym. for the more printe they are with the prince, the more hatefulle they are to the people. And though euery ma loueth Juftice in generall, pet they all hate the execution therof in particuler. Whan a fufte prince is Deade, the people take bengeance of the butufte feruantes. When thou were a chyloe, my feruantis now hed the, to the entent that thou hulbelt fuftene them in their age. Surch it were greate fame to the empire, an offence to the goddes, an inturie to me, and an bngentplnes of the, that thou hafte founde them. rbitt. peres with they armes abrobe to halfe the, that they fulbe finde one Day thy gates thet ageinft the. Thefe thinges I comit to b pticularly, kepe them alway in memorie. and fith & I res mebze the at my deth, confider how I loued the in my life.

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Of the laste wordes that themperour spake to his sonne, a of a table that he gaue hym. Ca. ribiii.

Dan the emperour had ended his favde recos

mendations, the daye began to fpringe, and his cie ftringes began to backe, and his tonge faultred, and his handes foke. That the fapo happy emperour, felynge that weakenes began fore to drawe about his herte, he commanded Wanutius to go into his fludy, and to bring to him a coffre that was there. And whan it was broughte to his presence, he opened hit, and toke out a table of thie fote bioode, and two fote longe, it was of wood Lybanus, a rounde about garny (hed with buccome. It was closed with two leaves, Subtilly wrought of a reed wood, that some sayd was of & tree that the Phenyr bredeth in : and is called Rafyn. Ind as there is but one bride Whenir bredinge in Arabre: foo lokewise there is no moo trees in the worlde of the same kynde. On one of the outwarde parties of the table was pyctured and granen the god Jupyter, on the other the goodeffe Henus: In the inward parties of the table that thette, was pictured god Dars, and the goddeffe Ceres : In the principall of the fard table was pictured a Bulle fubtylly wzoughte to the guycke, and binder that a kringe was pretured. The which parintures were farde to be of the handy warke of the expert Appelles an ancient worke man in payntinge. Than the emperour toke the table in his hande, and with areat pepne, he fard: Thou feelt my fonne Comodus, howe I am all redy fcaped fro the trappes of fortune, and am enterpage into the heupe aduentures of Dethe. I wote not why the goddois have created bs, fith there is fo great annoyance in our lyfe, a fo great perplie at our deathe. I biderftande not why the goddis haue 23b.

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have and ble fo great crueltie to the creatures. Arif. pere I have fayled with great trauaple throughe the great petilles of this lyfe: and at this houre I am commaunded to take lande and discharge me of my fleshe, and to take erthe in the lepulchie. Dowe bntreth the lyuely thiebes. nowe bnoothe the fpyndell nowe rrueth the webbe, nowe endeth my lyfe. Rowe am I awaked frome the fleppinge cupil: Kemembayng howe I have palled my lyfe, I have no moze befire to lyue. And in that I knowe not whiche way to go, I refuse bethe, what thall I do ! I am Determyned to put me into the handes of the goddis wyllyng: Ive, fythe I mufte bo fo of necessitie. Whom I require, if they have created me for any goodnes, not to deprive me fro them for my demerites. I am nowe in the lafte gate : and to this houre I have kepte the greatteft and moft ercellent tewell that I coude fynde in all my lyfe. In the . r. pere of myn empire there arole a warre agaynfte the Dars thes: wherfore I betermined in mine owne personne to que them bataple. After that warre I came by the auncient citie of Thebes for to le some antiquitie : among the whiche in a prieftes house I founde this table, the whiche as a kynge was repled in Egypte, incontynente it was es uer hanged at his beddes heed, and this prieft the wed me, that it was made by a kynge in Egipte name Ptholomce Arfacides, that was a bertuous prince. and in the memo rie of hym, and example of other, the prieftis kept it bilygently. And fonne I have kepte it alway with me : and I befeche the goddis, that fuche may be thy werkes, as thet in thou mayfte fynde good councell. Is emperout I leue the hepze of many countrepes and realmes : and as thy father I do grue bnto the this table of counsaplies . Let this be the lafte worde, that with the Emprze thou Chalte be feared, and by this table thou falte be beloued.

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Dowe to retourne to the fand table and writing. There was written betwene the bulle and the kynge a fcrowe in Greke letters, in maner of heroicall berles, conternynge in our bulgre tonge thus : I neuer chofe ryche tpante, noz abhorred the pooze tufte man: I neuer bented Juftice to a poore manne for his pouertie, nor parboned a rpche man for his greate goodes and trcheffe : I neuer dyode good dedes, not never gave hore for affection, not gave correction onely for the peyne: I neuer lefte pineffe bnchaftifed, noz goodnes without rewarde : I neuer com= mytted an other to bo Justice that was clere, nor barke fultice I neuer determined by my felfe alone: I dydde neuer beny iuftyce to them that bemaunded it, noz mer= cre buto bym that deferued it : I neuer byd correction for angre, not prompled any rewarde in my invithe : I was neuer charged with thoughtes in my profperitie, nor by= sparted in mpn aduerlitie: I neuer committed pll by malyce, no; anye billange fo; auaryce : I neuer opened mp gates to flatterars no; diffemblers, no; lyftened myne eares to murmurers : I have laboured always to be loued of them that be good, and to be dredde and fered of thepm that be pile: And finally I have favoured the pooze, that myahte do but lyttell, and have ben favoured of the god= bes that may bo moche.

Dytherto is thewed brefely the worthye and laudable lyfe of the emperour Marc?
Autelius and of his deathe.
And here after ensueth the seconde parte of this boke.

23b.ff.

Ca letteg

MARCVS

Ta letter fent by Marcus Aurelius to Pramon bis Speciall frende. Capitu.rlir. The firfte letter.

Arke ozatour Komarn, bozne at mounte Celio to Pyramon of Lyon, my greatte. frende, befiringe falutation to the per= ion, and frength and bertu againg thy finifict fortune. In the thirde kalendes of Januarie Trecepued thy letter, wher

by I percepue thou halt recepued one of myn, I fet finall floze by thy wordes, but I efteme greatly what thou meaneft by them . So that without Declarying therof I have gabred the fencence. Reafon wolde bycaufe I have written fo often to the that thou fulbeft the better bnderstonde me : but thou arte so flouthfull, that though I call the, thou wilte not here: no; thoughe I ftryke the, thou write not feele. But nowe to comme to the purpole, thou knowelt welle Diramon howe nere we be in paren= tage, aunciente in frendefhyppe, ftebfafte in loue, and tendre of hartes: and whan to ever thou putteffe in expetience, that one true frende fulbe proue an other . Thou remembreft wel when we were at Rodes, that we dwelled to gyther in one house, and byd eate at one table, and all that thou thoughtelt I opd it in effecte: and that I fand, thou neuer gaynfapoeft. Certapnly thou were in my hart, and I in then entraples : I was then, a thou were myne. me beinge to gether, but femed to all other that we were but one, and of one well. What is it my frende Diramon, Thou writest howe thou arte heur, and vet thou doest not hewe the cause why, thou complaynest of thou art almost deed, and thou flewest me not who taketh the life fro the. If thou wilt not hewe to my then ell beltenies, fith thou

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arte my frende, I wyll thou knowe, that I bemaunde it of right if thou write not, I wil that thou knowe, that o pitiful goddes have determined, that all pleasures and profyte thal departe fro my house: and that all heurnes and domages fhall be regiftred in my persone. Sithe 1 am prince of all honour, beinge in tribulation, pf thou woldelt, thou canfte not escape out of my leignourie. for if thou complayne, that thou arte buhappy in fortune, that I efteme my felfe to be happy in buhappyneffe. I Demade one thinge of the. Whan hafte thou fene me haue fufficiente, and thou nobe ? Whan hafte thou fene me flepe, and thou wake ? and whan hafte thou trauapled and I refted! Of trouthe (tthe the goodes and persons are thep; owne propre, the transples and yl aduentures are always com= mon. One thinge thou oughteft to knowe, if in mone as mitte thou welt perseuer, that all my goodes are thene, and all then euplics are men, foth thou arte borne to leue easply, and to be gentilly ordered and entreated, and I do lpue for to trauaple. I fap not this fapupngely : for thou hafte hadde experience of me, that whan Jamaria thy fy= fer byed, that was no leffe bertuous than fayze, thou faweft wel whan fhe was buried deed, I was buried quick: and at the sowne of my teares then eies daunced . Sythe thou holdeft fuche furetie of my perfon furely thou maift biscouer to me thy pepne. Yet as often as I have Demanbed it, there hath not fayned reasons fayled in the. I require the, and defpre the agapne, and in the name of the goddes I pray the, and in they names I confure the, that thou dispose all the sozowes into men entraples. for the way that thou goest I well not leave one pace to goo fro the fame: if thou go, I well go: if thou refte, I wil refte: pfthou worke, I well worke, ifthou leue of, I well doo the same: if thou welt dee, thou knowest wel, I well not ivue

Ipue. Regarde frend what thou woll do. for thon eupls and myn, tormente bothe one harte. If thou haue displefure, all thynges displease me : if thou wepe, I Cwere fro henstothe neuer to laughe: if thou bischarge the of the pepne, fro hensforth I hall take it for myne: if thou go alone, I will for fake company, and forthwith lyue foly= tarily. What wplt thou that I hulbe before . for al that euer thou wolt I woll. Thou complaynest, that in all thy trauaples thou canst fride no parente to remedy the, noz frende to councel the. I (were to the my frende Pyjamo, that of thefe two thynges I have as moche pouertiein my house as thou haste sozowe in then. I knowe well the remedy fulde come by tyches, 4 by councell, and confola= tion of theym that be wife. And by reason of my heur deftentes, flouth hath take fro me the knowlege of wiscom: and fortune well not permytte me to have greate riches. Certagnely I wepe for the mylerie, and pet there is but fmalle remedye in me. Thou fayeft in thy letter, that thy neyghbours and frendes in prompfyng haue behight the many thynges: but in apuringe they bo nothinge. Dereof I maruaplie: for the vertuous hande is not bounde to make the tonge a fole. Truly thoughe our fete bauce, out handes Quide werke at the fowne of the tonge: our lyfe endeth in fewe days, and our renoune in fewer. Dromys is an auncient custome amonge the sonnes of banite, and of custome the tonge fpeketh haltily, athe handes worke at lepfure. Robelet bs fpeake moze particularly .

Thou oughtest not to complayne, in that thou fyndest not but in a fewe, that dyners have founde in the alone. Custome is to recepue forthewith and merily, and to grue slowelye with ylle wylle and repentaunce. They that be presumptuous do the one, and they whiche be sloutheful, bo the other. The Grekes saye: that he that promyseth

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fyndelt alone. to gyue that be utheful, omyfeth and

and is longe in fulfpllynge, is but a flacke frede 200 Ko mapns fave, that he is moch better that denieth forthwith. bycaufe he wyll not begyle him that afketh. In this cafe Tap : De that may grue and grueth not, is a clere ennemie: and he that promifeth forthwith, and is longe or he boit, is but a suspecious fred. What nede wordes to our fredes, wha we may fuccour them with workes? Is it not right, to whom we give our hartes, & which is & best thia within bs, that we give him our tonge, that is the worfte thinge of all our vices ! In good fothe the goddis wille not fuffre in the place of amitie, to defire any thyng of our frende in halte, that we brine it of with longe belavinge. . Plato in his lawes farth. We comande, that in our gouernynge, that politike counsaple be gruen to them, that be in prosperitie, to thentent that they becare not: 4 to suc= courthem that be in beuines and trouble, to thetente that they dispaire not. Certapuly buder these wordes are com= puled dyners great lenteles. Thou knowelt wel my frend Diramo, that (wete wordes comfort the hart but litel that is in tribulation, but if there be fomme good workes ther= with. I wyl not benie, but that they to whom we have atuen oure good wylles in the tyme of oure prospertie, be bounde to apue be of their goodes, a to theme be fauour in our aduerlitie. I Demande one thinge of the: Wherfore holdest thou a presumtuous lycence to demaunde : And reproueft on the other parte the libertie of Denieng. Truly as there is frame in the demadinge, there is obligation in fome thing to beny: an importunate mais not worthy to baue mercy. Thou mailte knowe, if thou know it not my fred Diramo, that to attain to euerp thing bis bemabed, belongeth only to the goodis. To give every thing y is de maded is no figne of any feruat. And to beny any thing is of liberte. To wepe for y is denied is the coditio of tiratis. And

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And to conne no thanke for that is gruen, is the conditys on of the Barbariens : and to haue euer a ftedfafte hope of that is benyed, is the guyle of the Romaynes. One of thefe thinges, wherin Bapus Cefar Mewed hym felfe to be of hygh courage was, that he had mofte greatteft tope whan the lenate refuled any thynge delited by hym . Dfe tentymes he layde: There is nothringe wherin Rome aiuethe me more glore and renowine to my perfone, than whan I thewe my felfe mofte hafty to demaunde, and they moste styffe to denye me: to thentente that after they buld knowe what is my power to abyde, and howe lyttel they? Arcath is to relift. De thynke it is better to have recourse to the goddis with vertues, than to displease theym with quarelles. And to apue contentation to the reposed well, whan thou feelt thy felfe in tribulation: and that thou des maundelte of the goddis and of men to be frustrate, thou oughtest to measure it with a right measure, and to peple it in a right balaunce, the great quantite that hath benne given to the, and the lyttell quantitie that hath be graunted the. D howe bucourteple be we to the goddis, and of fmall remembraunce to men, whan we myniffe with for getfulnes, that we have recepued of them: and that lytell that hath ben refused by, we augment it with complayns tes. frende Pyramon, Jam begyled if thou be not fyfty peres of age, and all that feafon thou hafte done nothing but recepued gyftes: and pet for all that I have nat fene the do one day of scruice. Certapnly it is no reson to coms plapne of. biti. Dapes of pll fortune, beinge fiftie peres of age. Thou fapft in thy letter, howe thou hafte moch pein, breause thou knowest all thy neighbours to be enuious . In good foth I have peyne for thy peyne, and of thy met uaplying I have great meruaple. for all admiration procedethe but by furmountynge of ignozance, and faulte of expery:

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erperience. Doth the quicke binderstandynge of men tule the lyfe of the that be mostal, that they nede not to thinke of the trauaple to come, haupinge in their handes hafty re medy ? If they be hungry, they mave eate: whan they are colde, they may warme theym: if they be flepy, they may flepe: whan they be wery, they may rest: Whan they are fycke, they may be healed: whan they are heufe, they mave reiopce: in fuche maner, that the thoughtfull lyfe paffeth, fome to make tyltes and lyftes, fome to make armure and scaffoldes, some to inuente newe arnnes, and some to repape bulwarkes. I fay the world and the fleft do nought els but fratte agernft vs , and we have nede at all times to defende us fro them. Al thefe remedyes are ageinft the trauaple of the fleche. But what thall we do, that the curfednes of enuve extende not amonge all thefe e Curfed is that welthe, that every man envieth. Certapnly agaynfte enup is no fortreffe to befend, nor caue to hybe, nor bye hil to mount on, nor thycke woode to fadowe in, nor flyppe to scape in, noz hozs to beare away, noz money to redeine bs. Enuy is so benomous a serpent, that there was never mortall man amonge mortalles, that coude scape fro the bytynge of her tothe, and scratchynge of her nayles, foy= lynge of her fete, and poisonynge of her poylon. I (were to the my frende Pyramon, that fuch as fortune lifteth bp with great ryches, the full of crueltie grueth theyin profounde bytynges. Enuie is so enuious, that to them, that ofher are moofte denyed, and fette fardelt of, the gruethe mofte cruel ftrokes with her fete. This bnhapppe enupe prepareth poplon fecretely for them that be in reft amoge dyuers pleasures.

(I) have redde dyners bookes of Hebrewe, Greke, Lastyn, and Caldee: Ind also I have spoken with many very wife men, to se if there might be soude any remedy against

C.c. a

an enuious man. I confelle the trouth : Rede all that can be redde, and imagine al that can be, bemaunded all that can be bemaunded, and re fall fride none other cure a= acinft this curled enuie, but to banythe bs fro all profperitie, and to fytte with aduerfe fortune. D howe buhappy are they that be in prosperitie: for fullely they that be sette bp in byah eftate, can not flee from the perille of Scilla. without fallynge into Charibbis. They can not scape the pervil, without casting their treasures into the fee. I fare that the malady of enuy wyll not fuffre them to scape fro Dethe, and the medicine that is applied to them, will not affure their lyfe. I can not betermyne me, whiche is the befte, or to fave more properly the worfte, extreme myferie without the danger of fortune, or extreme prosperitie, that is always thetened to falle. In this cafe to be fo extreme I wil not determin me, fith in the one is a perillous lyfe, and in the other renoume is fure.

Mall tell the, what wife Cicero fayde, whan he was pursued with many at Rome: Beholde you Romaines, I holde you not for so good, nor my selfe so ylle, to sape the trouthe always, nor always to make lyes. I am certayn, that ye bere me none enuic, for that I am not as ye be, but it is bycause ye can not be as I am: In this case I had rather that my ennemies had enuye at my prosperitie, than

my frendes at my pouertie.

This oratour spake after the appetite of them that be in prosperitie, leupnge to grue remedy to them that be so roweful. And after this Cicero had sene the feldes of far-salpe, he toke other councell and remedy, suche as plesed hym in Kome. For if Cesar had granted him his goodis, pet y turned not his credence and renoume. Surely frend Pyramo A know no remedy to grue the ageinst enuy, sith thou sees at the world ful therof. we se how we be the sons

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of enuie, and we live with enuie, a die with enuve he that leueth moft riches, leueth the areteft enuie. The auncient wife men coulailed rich men, that they (huld not have poze folkes nere them: A they admonished the pooze, that they Quide not dwell nere to the tyche. And trewely it is good reason. for prichelle of rich men is the sede of enuie to the poore. And for that the poore lacketh, and the riche hathe to moche, caufethe discord amoge the people. I swere by & goddis immortal frend Diramon, though they that be pll wolde that I hulde fwere fallely, as moch as riches with thought noziffeth couetife, so moch the enuious noziffeth enup therby. I counfaile the one thing, a that is, that it is no good counfell to flee enupe, and to auoide the bertu co= travie to the same . Domer fayth, o in his tyme there were two Grekes extreme in all extremities: The one was ertreme in riches, a therfoze he was perfecuted by enuie, a \$ was Achilles: a the other was fore noted of malice, but no man had enuie at him, and that was Thieftes. Certainly I had leuer be Achilles with his enuy, tha Thieftes with out it. Thou knowelt well, that we Romannes ferche not but for refte in our lyfe, and for honour after dethe. And lithe it is fo, it is not pollible but the man that every man envieth his renoume, ought to be exalted in the rest of his lefe. And fithe I fee thefe two thinges in the, fuche as be thy frendes taketh lytell thought, for that then ennemies murmure againste the. Thou writest to me, howe they of Lyons do well, and are merge, excepte thy felfe, that arte beur, and full of penspuenes. And lithe they shewe not to have pleasure at thy displeasure, thewe not thy felfe dyspleased with their pleasure. for it may chaunce one bave they hall be forowfull, whan thou arte merye : Thanne thou halte be quite with theym. In an eupl persone there can be no greter ylle, nozin a good man a greatter faute, Cc. ii. than

than to be displeased with an nother mans welthe, and to take pleafure at an other mans harme. Ind in cafe that all do bs domage with enuy, yet moche more a frend than the enmie. for of myn enmie I wyll beware, and for feare he well withdrawe: but a frende with his amitie may beaple me, and I by my fidelitie hal not percepue. Amonge all mostall ennemics there is none wors than a frend that is enuious of my felicitie. Pramon my frende, I welle conclude, if thou wylt withdrawe thy felfe fro ennemics, than kepe company with thyrrowne familiar frendes . A wote not what to write more to the, but with all my harte I lamente thy heupnesse. Thou knowest howe thy nyece Brufia was flarne with a daggar by her owne hufbande, I had great compassion for her beth, and for the renowne that the lefte behynde her . flauius Duscus thyn bucle is newely made Cenfure. The processe betwene the brother formion and Britio is betermyned by the lenate : and hit pleafeth me righte welle, that they be frendes, and every man well content. The boke intytuled the consolation of heurnes I have ended, and lard it in the capitol . I have waitten it in Greke, and that is the caufe that I fent it not to the. But I do sende the a ryche swerde, and a fayze gir= Dell. fauftyne my wyfe Dothe falute the, and sendethe thy wyfe two fclaues. The goddis be my kepers, and comfort the in the prefent heupneffe. Darke the man fortunate, to Pramon fore Difcomforted.

Taletter fent by Marcus the emperour to Commelius of the trauaple of warre, and banitie of triumphe.

The second eletter.

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Arche emperour of Rome to the Comelius my faythefull frende, falute to thy personne, and good fortune to thy delyred lyfe. As thou in tyme passed halte bene pertener of my trauayles, I have fente to calle the to grue the pleasure of my triumphes. By the haboundance of

tychelle, divertitie of captives, fierines of capitarns, that we have brought to Kome, thou mayft percepue what pe= rils we have fuffred in this warre. The Darthes are good men of warre: and as every man findeth in their own lod defendeth their houses with stronge hert: and surely they bolphe good men. for without reason we dre of affection to take other mens goodis: and they with reason do labo; to defende that is their owne. Lette no man take enuie at the Romann capitann, for any triumph that is given him by his mother Rome: for one dave of honour he is a. 90. dayes in dispayze of his lyfe. I will not speake that I myghte fave of them that be in warre, and dwel in Kome, ben cruell tuges of their owne fame. And fith that the pro= pre renoume of a man leth in other folkes tonques, it is not lapde bycaule his person hathe meryted, but bycause that they do thewe their enuie. But our foolyfhenes is fo folythe, and the reputation of men fo barne, that for one bayne worde, more than for our profette, we put our lefe in baunger, and lay our honour to quage with trauaple, rather than to lyue, and to affure our renoume with refte. I (were by the goddis immortall, that the day of my tryumph being in the chartot, I was as penline as I might be. D Rome curfed be thy foly, a wo be to hym that hathe brought bp in the fo moche papoe. And courfed be he that hath invented fo greatte pompe in the. What greatter of more briegall lygithes can be, than that a Romagne ca-Cc.ii. pitapn

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pitayne, bicaule he hath conquered realmes, altered peas libles, diftroped cities, cafte downe fortreffes, robbed the poore, encyched tirantes, (hedde moche bloode, and made infinite wpdowes, fulde for recompence of all thefe Do: mages be recepued with great triumph? where haft thou fene a greatter foly! Infinite nobre is biftroved in warre, a one alone that bere awar the glozie therof. And though fuche milerable conquerours merited not to be buried, pet whan I wentthroughe the ftretes of Kome (I tell it as a fecrete betwene the and me) that whanne the chariotte triumphant came, and the buhappy puloners charged with irons, remembringe the infinite treasures pl gotten, and herving the lamentations of the wydowes forowfully wepinge for the deathe of their hulbandes, and callynge to mynde our manyfolde frendes decd:though I reioyced me openly, I wepte droppes of blooud (ceretely. I canne not telle what personne takethe pleasure in hym selfe of an other mannes domage. In this cafe I prayle not the Afficiens, no? I enuy not the Derfians, no; am contente with the Lacedemoniens, noz approue the Calbeens, noz contente me with the Grekes: T curfe the Croyans, and condempne them of Carthage, bycause they folowed not the seale of Austice, but what they dyd in their tyme was with rage of pape, whereby they and their realmes were broughte into sclaunder, and was occasion to lefe bs. D curfed Rome, curfed thou halt ben, and curfed thou Chalt be. for if the fatal destenies decepue me not, a mpn bndet: flandpinge faple me not, and that fortune holde not fafte, we chall fe in tyme to come. Kome chall be in lyke cafe as other realmes be nowe in our dayes. And where as nowe with typanny thou arte lady ouer all feignouries, it hall comme by Justice, that thou halte tourne to be bonde to them, that are nowe bider thy bondage. Dyll fortun-

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nate Kome: I fay it bycaufe that bertue is fo dere in the. and makelt folye foo greate cheape. Barabuenture thou art more autentike than Babylon, faprer than Dely, ry= ther than Carthage, ftronger than Trope, better peopled thanne Thebes, moze flozed with flyppes than Cozinthe, more delicious than Thrze, more inerpuquable than #= quilie, more happy than Aumancy: we fee howe they all are perplied, for all they bertues and baliat defenders, and thou hopeft to abrde perpetually, flored with them & be victous, and peopled with fuche as befull of byce. D Kome, marke this for certapne, that the glorie that thou half at this houre, was fyzite theirs: and this diffruction that nowe is theyes, hereafter fal be then. De dere frede Comelius, thall I thewe the the loffe of the Romanne people, but I can not telle it the without weppna? I the emperour of Rome commaunde, I make decrees for the warre: if any countrave arple, by fownynge of a troumpette to make menne to tepfe thep; baners, and to create newe Capitarnes : Ind hit is a thrnge berp eupdente to fee, that whan they repfe they; standerdes, and have leve tomake and affaple ennempes, chylozen leave thepz mo= thers, Studentes leaue they? scholes, fernauntes fozfake they maylters, and officers they offices, to the entente that buder the colour and crafte of goynge to warre, they hulde not be chaftiled by Juftice: They have noo feare of the goddes, noz reuerence to the Temples, noz obedi= ence to they? fathers, nor love nor awe of the people, and loue to lyue poplly, and hate fuste labour, and thep; erer= cyles are domagcable: Somme doo robbe the churches, fomme make quarelles and frques, and fomme breake gates open and beare the goodes awaye, sometyme they take theym that be at lybertie, and delyuer theym that hulde be personers: They passe the nightes in playes, and

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and the days in blasphemes: finally they ar bufete to do wel: are holly disposed to do pl. What that I fay of their neglygence ? I am afhamed to write it. They leave they? owne wrues and take other mens, They bythonour the baughters of honefte men, and beaple ponge mapdens, They enforce theyr hoftelles, and negabours wyues : and worte of all, the women that do go with theym, fette them agog that boo tarpe. And foo in this maner none of these women that so go, scapeth withoute losse of honour, and the other ar friken with bices in they; hartes bicaufe thep tary. Thinke furely Comelius, that the entrepailes are smalle, where as women do goo to warre . Thou knowell, that the women Amazones have made greter warre in Grece, than the cruelle ennemics, and not for bycaufe they had not men ynowe, but bycause they were so manye women . Prichus was ouercome by Alexander, The ba-Ivant capitarne Danyball was lorde of Italy, as long as he fuffred no women to come in his warres. And whan he was enamoured of a fayre ponge damopfell of Capue, he was farne forthwith to turne his backe to Kome, bycaule Rome clenfed the felde fro lecherie. for the fame caufe Au mancie was cafte to the erthe. And I my felfe haue fene in the warre of the Parthes . rbii . 90 . horfemen' . lerr . 90 . fote men, and . rrrb . 99 . women. And our befynes went to, that fro our holte I fent away faultine my wyfe, and fo byd other fenatours their wrues home to thep; houfes, to thentent that they hulbe ferue them that were olde, & byrnge bp their chylozen. Chat bave that a Batrician is approued by the Senate, and ledde aboute Rome by the Confules, the egle is hanged at his breft, and his raymet is reade, and he after rpleth in luche pape, that he remem beeth not the pouertie of the tyme palled, but thynkethe to be emperour of Rome forthwith . Beholde than what thep

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they bo. They with their berdes, a ruffle their beres, boys Cous their wordes, they chaunge their clothes, a rol their even, that they mave feeme the fierfer. Ind finallye they loue to be feared, and hate to be loued. And wotteft thou not that they well be feared & Dn a day beinge at Bentas polyn, a capitarne of myn, not feing me,pet Tharbehim Imcre and blafpheme, favenge to a woman his hoftelle : pe billarnous people wille not knowe the capptarnes of warre: I wpl thou knowest mother, that the erthe neuer trembleth, but whan it is theet of a capitagne Romagne: and god neuer caufeth the fon to forne but there as we be obered. But nome frende Comelius fith I haue blafoned his baunt, barken his bertue and worthynes. I (were to the, that the lapbe capitarne for all his bofte, beinge in a ctuel bataple, was the first alone, that fled fro the batapl, and lefte the ftanderde: wherin he dydde inoughe to caufe me lofe the felo. But whan it was done, I caufed to ftrike of his beed. It is an infallyble rule, that they that hewe them felfe moft fierfest, in effecte are most cowardes. In opuers bookes I have redde : and of opuers I haue herde, and in many I haue feene, that hit canne not

fayle in a man fufferpnge and pacient, to have bertue and force: And it is maruaple that he is fronge and balpant, that can not luffre. What thall I lave more of these areues and domages, that thefe men of warre do in paffinge through realmes, and of theftes and robberies that they bointhe houses, where as they lodge ! I enfure the the boame in p tymbe, not the mothes in the clothes, not the Tparcle in the towe: not the Datnell amonge the come, noz the wefell amonge the grapn, no; the caterpyllers in fruit trees, bothe fo moche domage, as one companye of men of warre doothe burte the poore people. They leave noo cattagle bullagne, no gardegne burobbed, no wylde beeft

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chafed, not no mapde budefloured : and pet that worfe is; they eate withoute payment, and they wyll not ferue with out payment : noz no man can converfe and endure amon them. Whan they are paved, by and by they play it away: if they be not paved, they robbe and grudge; and the cafe is come to fo great corruption, that if thou fawelt it, thou woldest fave, that eche of them were the hed of rumour, and the bearnnynge of ftrife, poplon to bertues, Pyrate of rouers, and capitarne of all wretched theues . I fave not this without weppinge. It is the greattelt mockpinge of al mockeries: and the caufe goth to fuche loffe and para Dition, that these myschius people are our homelye a familiar enmies : a yet there is no emperour that can have lozdfbpppe ouer them, noz iustice chastise them, noz feare withdraw them. noz lawe fubbue them. noz fhame refren them, not bethe that can byl them, for they ben men remes opleffe: They ouer renne, and eate, and byfpople euerpe man. D howe fozowefull Tam for the Kome, that was not wont to have in the fuche pll aduentures . Certainely in the auncient tyme, whan thou were peopled with right and trewe Romanns, and not as thou arte nowe with baflardes chyildrene, than the armis, that wente fro Rome, were as well disciplyned and mozigerate, as the scholes of the philosophies, that were in Grece. The olde auncy: ent histories witneste, that bynge Philyp of Marcedonye, and his fonne Alexander, were happy in warre, bycaufe thep kepte their armes fo well ozbered, that it femed bets ter to be a fenate that ruled, tha an army that wold fight. I (were to the by myn honestie, that fro the time of Quintus Cincinatus, bnto the noble Marcus Marcellus, in the whiche time was the greattefte prosperitie of Rome, the common people hadde greatte glorge as longe as disciplone of anyghtehode was well corrected: and we bes

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ganne to lofe, whan our capitapnes beganne to Deferue to be deplaced and condempned. D curled be thou Afre. and curled be the day, that we had conquefte of the . The goodnesse that hathe followed therby we se it at our eve: and the domage that is come by the shall alwayes be so= rowed. In the we have wasted our treasures, athou hast filled bs with thy vices: In chaunge of fronge and ber= tuous men, thou halt fent the wantons to bs: we have enercome thy cites, and thou triumphelt of our bertues: we have beaten bowne thy fortreffes, and thou hafte by= ftroved our good customes: by force thou art becom ours. and with our good wylles we are nowe thone: Iniufte= ly we are lordes of thy realmes, and we are fufte fubicctes to thy bices: fynally thou Afre fhalte be the fepulchie of Rome, and thou Rome Chalte be the fyncke and gutter of the fylthynes of Alve. Certaynly Kome ought to have benne contente with the landes of Italye, whiche is the nauell of the worlde, without conquerence the landes of Alpe, to bereue them from other. I lyke well all thynges that I have redde of my predecessours, sauinge that they were promoe, as we their successours be to hardye. And T (weare buto the, that pet peraduenture after the pepue, we hall becomme bertuous and good : All the rycheffe and tryumphes, that our forefathers have broughte oute of Alve, the goodes and the rycheste, and they also with the tyme at lafte habbe an ende: but the wantonnelle and bices that are in be their childzene, dothe remarne ftylle buto this dape. I wolde to god that the Dincis knewe what an outtractions thynge hit is to enuente warres in fraunge landes and countrepes, and what trauaple thep ferche in their perfons, and what thoughtes in their min= bes, and what murmure and mocyon in their subjectes, what ende and waltinge of their tychelles and treasures, Do.II.

what pouertie to their frendes, what pleasure to their ens nemies, what domage to their natrue countreps, a what porfon they leave to their owne enherytours: I Cweare to the, that if I had knowen that I doo knowe (I wyll not fay but by bloudde (hedde they be taken) if they had offe= red them felfe with good wille and hedvinge ofteares. I molde not have taken them. The trouthe is, that our capis taynes neuer flew. rr. 90. men of Afte, with their armour that they bare out of Italpe, but they lofte mo than a. C. 99. Romanns with the vices that they brought to Rome: As catyinge openly in the palares Aufonios, Suppringe in their houses secretely, the women to cloth them as me, and the men painted as women, The patritiens bearpng Deafques, The Pleberens blonge fmelles, and the emperours to weare purpul. Thefe. bit. bices of Alie . Hie fent for a prefet to Rome. Seue noble capitarns brought them. I leave to thewe their names, lefte I foulde thame them with their faultes, lythe they were fo noble men by their highe bedes. Rowe pe princis beholde what profitte tt is to take ftraunge realmes with your warres: I leue the bices that they recover, and the bertues that they lefe, with the perdition of their treasure that they love. for certayn there is nepther kyng no; realme brought to extreme pouertie, but by warrynge a ftraunge realme with fynall a ertreme conquelt. I bemaunde of the myne owne frende Cornclius: What caufeth princis to lefe their treafure, & require them of other! Whan their owne can not fuffple, than they take from churches, ferche byuces loones, reple tributes, and inuent newe fubfroics, grue and fpende on fraungers, and make him felfe hated of his owne, page euery man, and haue nede of euery man : aduenture his perfone, and aduenture his renoume ! If thou knowelle not this, I well tell the, if thou welt here me. Thefe pain

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cis counfell with men, they lyue with men, and finally at the lafte they are men. At one tyme by patde that furmoun teth them, an other tyme by counfeyll that fayleth theym, fome imagininge by their fantalies, fome fayinge, that if he have areat goodes, he ought to encrease his fame, and that no memorie fould be of him, if he invented no warre, and that the emperour of Rome by right is loade of all the erthe. And in this maner as his fortunes is bafe, and his thoughtes high, the goddis fuffreth that wha he thinketh tuftely to wynne an other mannes, than tuftely be lofethe his owne. D puncis, I can not telle what beaplethe pour, for where as ve may be triche with pleafure, ve wyl be poze with warre: where as ye may be beloued, ye wil be hated: where as ye may play and sporte your felfe, and refte in a fure lyfe, pe wyll commytte your felfe to the chaunces of fortune : and where as other have necessitie of you, pe put rour felfe to be in the necessitie of other. And thoughe the prince make no warre, he chulbe not fuffre his people to warre: Euery man ought to leave the warre. frend Coznclius, I demaunde of the, whether is moze trauaplle to his persone, or domage to his realme, a kynges ennemies orels his owne armie. Dis ennemies robbethe on the coftes, but our men robbe all the londe : The enmyes mape be refpfted, but we bare not fpeake to our owne me : The ennemics enuade be on one day, and recule backe agepn, but our garisons robbe bailye, and abyde fille. The ftra= gers haue some feare, but ours are shameles: and at the lafte the farther of our ennemies goo, the more they ware lpberalle, and our armies of men euerpe baye encreale in tructie, in suche wyle, that they offend the goddis, and be importunate to their princis, and norfulle to the people, lyupnge to the domage of eucry man, and be unprofpta= ble to all men. By the god Dars I Iwere to the, and as I DD.tit. mape

mape be holpen in the warres, that I gouerne with mp bande, Thave mo complayntis dayly fro the fenat on the capitagnes that ben in Allyrike, than on all the ennemies of the Komayne people: Thaue moze feare in maynteynyinge one ftandarde of a hundled men, than to give battaplle to.1. 99. ennemies. for the goddis and fortune bilpatche a battaple in an houre, be it good or bab: but with thefe other I can do nothynge in al my lyfe. Thus it hath ben my frende Cornelius, and thus it is, and thus it hall be. Thus I foundeit, thus I holde it, and thus I hall leauett: Dur fathers byd inuente it, and we fustepne hit, that be their children, & for plitt (hall abyde to our heires. I fave to the one thinge, and I thinke I am not Decepued therin: To endure the great domage and no prouffite of thele people, I thinke it a great foly in man , oz els a gret punishemente of the goddes. Be the goddis so iuste in all fustice, and so true in all beritie, that they wyll suffre bs without reason to boyll in straunge landes, to whom we byd neuer good, and in our owne houses to have theewde tournes of them, that we have alwaye done good? Thefe thiges frend Comelius I have write to the not bicaufe I thinke it nedeful that thou fulbelt know it: but inp fpitit tefteth in thewyng of it. Panutius my fecretarie wente to bilite this lande, and on the way I gaue hym this letter: I do lende to the two horles, I thinke they be good . The armour and iewels that I wone on the Parthes, I have Departed them. Howe be it I fende the a chariot of theym. My wyfe faustyne saluteth the, and sendeth to thy wyfe Briche glaffe, an ouche of precious fromes to the dough ter: I beseche the goddis to ague the good lyfe, and mea good dethe. Marcus thy louer writeth to the Cornelius his frende.

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oznelius

Arke of mount Celio, companyon of the empire, to the Cozcate beinge at Gayette, patricien Romayne, falute to thy person, and bertue and force against aduerse fortune. It is a three monthes syth I received thy letter, the

whiche myn eyes myaht not make an end to rede, noz my handes to answere. I am so heur for the heurnes so pern full for thy peyn, and so burt with thy wound, that where as thou wepelt with then eyes outwardely, I wepe with my hart inwardly. I wote what difference is between the tree and the croppe, and the breme fro the trouthe: I here of thy trauaples by itraunge persons, and Afele them in mon owne person. But where as true frendes be the pepnes are in comen. The great infortunes ought to be fuf= fred for one thynge, bycaufe they declare who are the true frendes: I knowe by thy letter, howe thou arte banifbed from Rome, and all thy goodes confiscate, and that for pure heurnes thou art fycke in thy body. I wolde goo fee the and counfaile thy person, by cause that thou myahtest fee, with what harte and well I doo were for the melad= uenture. But if thou take me for thy trewe frende, beleue me as I beleue the, that is howe moche I feele the mpl= aduenture. Of trouthe as thou arte bany (hed bodylye, fo am I bany hed inwardely in my hart. And of the goo= bes og substaunce be taken away fro the, Jam robbed of a good frende and companion. And if thou lackefte thy frendes, Jam abydynge amonge myn enmies. Though Impatt remedy by workynge of my power, thy banyth= ment: yet I wel counsaile the spirite with certain woods. **313**

TO.

If I be not forgettefulle. I never lawe the content in this lyfe: bycaule thou were ever befre in thy prosperitie, and werp of any aduerlitie. And as nowe I le the dispapre, as though thou were but newe come in to this world. I have knowen the this. rrrit. peres in great top: and nowe thou complayuest of.bt. monethes thatfortune bath tourned her whele. D Cozcate, now thou mapft knowe, that bertuous men feare more two dapes of prosperitie, than two hundred of aduerle fortune. D howe manye menne, and howe manye tyche cities haue thou and I feene flyppe fro their prosperytes, through they bicious lyuynge and Graunge enmities ! In luche wife, that they, baynglozie and flypper prosperite endured but two dayes : and the burtes and loffe that they have habbe, and the cruell and extreme enmyties, the whiche also that they have wonne, lafteth to this daye in their heires. Contrary wofe we fee some let in the height of tribulations, the whiche have efcaped by callyinge away bices, clothyinge them with bertues, werpe of eupli warkes, folowinge goodnes, beinge frendes to all, and ennemies to none. What wylte thou that I chulde fay moze? They that are happye, are ouers come in peace, and they that are buhappy, bo ouercomme other in warre. Therfoze my frende Tozcate, it Cemeth to me no leffe necessitie to grue good counsaple, than to profper with great prosperite, to remedy them that are in gret beupnelle. for as wery are they that go the playn way, as they that costeth the highe mountagnes . By thy letter] perceiue, that what time thou hopeoft to haue ben in molt quietnes and reft, this pll fortune and chance felle on the. Be not abalhed therof. for thoughe that all newe chauns ces cauleth newe thoughtes prefently, yet therby comethe moze caufe of ftedfaftnes in tyme to come . Certarnire the tree beareth not lo moche fruit there as it fpipngeth firft,

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t in this tie, and apre, as Thaue we thou tourned hat bers an two ne, and Slyppe ngeand malorie and the tell and wonne, e we see baue elith ver-, beinge ltethou re ouer= rcomme methto to profe in gret way, as lettet 3 in most e on the. e chauns comethe nive the eth first,

85

as it bothe whan it is newe fette in an other place. Ind all good finelles are moze oboziferous, if they be wel medled and chaufed together. I pray the tell me, abidynge in the world, beinge a chyloe of the fame, and lourng the world. what hopeft thou to have of the worlde, but worldly thinacs? the worlde fhall always be the worlde. At this houre thou arte worldly, and thalt be worldly, and thalte be entreated, as the worlde is accustomed to entrete them that be worldly. If thou knowest thy felfe and thy weakenes, if thou kneweft fortune a her mutation, if thou knewefte the men and their malices, if thou knewell the world and the flateringe therof: thou wolde revie the fro the hande therof with honour, and not be chastifed with infampe. Dhowe we hope to fprede by fortune ! Dhow often without respecte buwares we passe this lyfe & D howe often we trufte the bobaunce of this worlde? and we truft therin as moche as though it never bearled man. I far it not bicaufe I have harde it fapde, noz bicaufe I have redde it in bokes : but for we feit daply with our epes : fome becape and lefe their goodes, other falle and lofe they; crebence, fome falle in frabte, and lefe they; honour, and other arife and lofe they lyues, and fome thynke, that all are free by privilege, where as neuer none were priupleged. D mp frende Tozcate, of one thonge I am certapne, and let eue= to man take it for a warning: Den by whom we be borne. be of fo pll disposition, and the worlde so fierse and cruell, with whome we lyue, and the alvdinge ferpent fortune fo full of poplon, that they hurte be with their fete, 4 bite be with they tethe, and scratche by with they nayles, and fwelle bs with they poplon, foo that the pallynge of the lpfe is no leffe than takpinge of deathe. And in cafe thou hafte fene fomme lyue longe without any falle of fortune, thynke not it is well, for it is not by good aduenture, but Œe. the

the more his pl fortune. The worlde is fo malycious, that if we take not hede to prepare against his wrinche, it wil ouerthrowe bs to our greatter loffe and hurt. Doche fo: ner due they that ben helthful with the infirmities a fucknes of few days, than they that be weke with their lagour of many peres. I fap this bycaufe I hold it for moft fure: tie, that the myserable man, that mave not lyue without mpferies, fhulde fele the pepnes by lyttell and lyttel, and not al at ones. we ete dyners thynges by mosfels, whiche if we chulde cate hole, wold choke bs. In lyke wyle in biuers days we luffee dyners tranaples, whiche al togyder wolde make an ende of be in one day, and than fythe the goddis well permytte, that the melfortune thall fall, and that the rouge of the decay overflowe her chanel, a where thou wencht to be moft fure, thou halt be in greteft peril: we fhall minister to the a frappe, to the entent of thou lose not the good renoume, though thou have loft the goodis that be nought. Tell me I prape the Torcate, why com: playnest thou, as he that is sycke? why crieft thou lyke a foole? why fyghelt thou as a Desperate man; why wepelte thou as a chyloe! Thou hafte gone an yll way, and com= playneft of thy refte. Thou arte clothed to goo throughe bulbes, and thou favelt that thy gownes do teare. Thou walkefte amonge the ftones, and arte forve bycaufe thou falleft. Thou hafte leaned and thought not to fal, and finally thou arte fette with the worlde, and thynkest to be free with heuen. Wylte thou have faufconduite of for tune, that is ennempe to many : She can not grue the na turalitie, whiche is mother to al thonges. I wol alke the one thynge: I put the cafe that the fee had prompfed the alway in suretie of her, and the skye clere wether, the fomer snowes, and the wynter flowies: It will not be of a furetie Tozcate. If nature canne not fulfplle this, beinge

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us, that he, it wil oche lo= safrckr lacour iost sures without ttel, and whiche ple in ditoapdet pthe the fall, and a where eft peril: hou lose goodis hy com: u lpke a wepelte no com: haoughe . Thou ise thou , and fiest to be of for ie the na aftethe psed the , the fo= t be of a , beinge

thy

then owne mother, thinkeft thou than, that fortune welle que it the, whiche is the briufte flepmother? Kepe this rule for certayne, and neuer forget it, that al natural cours les are subjectes to mutation euery pere. And all worldly folke that trufte on fortune, thall fuffre eclyps every moment. And than fyth naturall thynges can not be always in one case, of necessitie the goodis of fortune muste perothe, fothe they be superfluitie. Roaht briust shulbe the trahtwife goddis be, of they had made perpetuall that, whiche is domageable to fo many: De that which is profitable, to have created it fallyble. I wylle fpeake no moze of thy prosperitie in tymes paste, but nowe I wyl comme to the bany hement that thou suffrest presentely, Suspe= tious fortune made a farze at thy gate, knowings what the folde: and thou wyfte not what thou boughteft: She made a dere bargayne, and folde it dere to the: (he hathe gruen the fowze for fwete, and the fwete is tourned into lowzenelle for the : the bath apuen the puell for good, and hath tourned thy good to pl. And finally the hath bearled the at a fulle price, not wearings to the that the wolde have done the domage: and though that the was malycious in fellynge to the, thou were no leffe foolyshe in the byenge therof: for the more there is in fortunes shoppe, the more suspecte is the marchandple. D howe buhappy be we, for in that market is nothyng fold but lyes. And the trufteth nothrnge but bypon the pledges of our renoume: and at laste well not be payde but with the shotte of our lyfe, and that is the moofte greattest and myscheuous wounde. It is openly knowen to energe man as to the, that where as they thynke not to leefe they wares, falle fortune in that they purpole, to they my happe lyeth in awayte, and is redy to bye theym. Thou makelt me bery foze abalhed Tozcate. I have reputed the ryghte wyfe and bertuous, C.u. and

and nowe I take the for a lofte foole. In good foth whan I fawe the ponge in Gapette, I tudged the worthy to gouerne Rome: and nowe that thou art olde, thou deferueft nothynge but to be cafte in a galer as a sclaue. D how ma ny thynges are there to knowe a man by! There is not fo high a toppe of a brile, but hit is trobben with feete: noz foo depe a fee but hit is founded with leade, and in a hun-Diebe peres one manne can not attarne to knowe an other mannes harte. Telle me I prave the, what lokeofte thou for of fortune, after foo greatte welthe ! Lyupnge to the worlde thynke to be in the worlde. The children of banite goo and walke foo longe, that at lafte their difordinate Delpres canne not take fro the world their antike bilanies and Chamfulnes, the whiche fortune dothe not with them that the hathe repled buto the faves, thynkelic than, that the Chall bowe with the to the loweste parties: D fole Con cate, thoughtest thou to passe the see withoute perpll, to eate fleffhe withoute bones , To Dinke wine withoute lyes, to walke in the waves without findynge flones, To bre wheate without chaffe? In good foth, if thou thoughteft to bre pl goodes without hindrance of thy good fame, and maynterne thy good renoume without loffe of plaot ten goodes, I wolde wrtte of the, what thou brobelt hope to bo, fithe fo longe feafon thou hafte made a face in the world. Erriff. pere thou halte ben in the grace of the world, nowe it is tyme fro henfroith to fall at fome discorde there with. A belle, kyng of the Affiriens, hoped to haue but feue peres of good profperitie, Quene Simiramis but onely fore, Abell kynge of the Lacedemontens fyue, Eutrete kynge of the Calbrens. int. Alexander kynge of the Grekes. iti. Amplear the great of Carthage but. it . and out Bayus Cefat Romayn but one onelp, and many befoze and lythe not one pere: And lyth thou were the moofte buknowe

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oth whan thp to go= Deferueft how ma is not fo feete: noz in a bun= e an other ofte thou ge to the of vanite fozbinate bilanies oith them han, that fole Con erpll, to withoute nes, To though: od fame, of rlaote dest hope ce in the he world. 2De ther: but feué but one-Gutrete the Gre= andout p before ofte bu-

knowe

knowen oflynage, The groffelte of bnderftandynge, and the lefte of power, the barkeft of fame, and the most weke in merites: wherfore than complaynelle thou of fortune? If thou habbelt ben bertuous in all thefe. rrr. peres thou habbest neuer eaten without thoughte, noz neuer spoken without fuspection, noz flepte without flertyna, thinking what thou haddelt to do, and wherin fortune myghte beaple the. De that fo longe is befette aboute with fo manye enemies, I can not tell howe he fuld take any fure flepe. 3h Tozcate Tozcate, the worlde bath fo many falles, and we knowe so yll howe to continue amonge theym that be worldly, that scantly we are fallen whan our handes and fete lyke sclaues be soo fast tied, that we can not lose them. It fylleth our persons full of vices, frenatheth our line= wes to wickednes, weaketh our hartes in bertues, and finally rendzeth our fpirites in a traunce, and mafethe our bnderstandenge, and chaungeth our taste, and sufferethe bs as beaftes to fewe our cupiles that we fele with way= hinges, all though as men we burft not thew it. And that this is true, it appereth, that whanne we fee, that we lofe, we lament and complarne, and none can helpe hym felfe. This smalle lesson I writte to the, to the ende that thou lyue in lesse thoughte. The horse colte that thou dyddeste fende me, leapeth bery well: The spanyell that thou fent to me, is well, but he is wylde: the calfe was very fatte, and I wolde have eaten it forthwith, but my wyfe faufin befilp praped me to kepe it, and thinketh that it was folen in a gardenne. I fende to the . it . 90 . ferters for to fuccourthe in thy tranaples. Ind as touchynge thy banyhement at tyme conveniente I hal dispatch thy matters with the senate. The consolation of the goddis, and the love of man be with the Tozcate. The fodepnnes of cuits, and the pre of the furics be leperate fro me Marcus Au-Ce.iii. relius

relius. Faustyn my wife greteth the, and in lyke wife fro her parte and ours, to thy mother in lawe, and thy wyfe have be recommended. Marc of Rome sendethe this wittynge to Tozcate of Bayette.

Taletter to Domitius of Capue to comforte him in his banischemente.
The fourthe letter.



Atke opatour Romayn, borne on mount Celio, to the Domitian of Capue falute and confolation of the goddes confolatours. In this right colde wynter there arose in this lande a mighty gret wind, and by reason of the great wynde arose great quantitie of waters, and the wa-

ters have caused great humidities, and great humidities brede druers maladies and difeafes: and amonge all the infirmities of this lande I have the coute in my hande, and the ciatica in my legge. for the helth of my worke fau ftine I can nepther go noz write. I fave it bycaufe I can not write to the fo longe as the cafe wolde require, and as thy thankes meryteth, and my delvre coueteth. It is the wed me by occasion of a hors thou hast hadde strife with Patricio thy negghbour, a that thou art banished fro Capue, and let in the pailon Damartyn. The goodes are co fished, and thy chylogen banished, thy house caste downe, and have put thy nevelve out of the fenate, and banythed the, the senate for reveres. It is tolde me, that all the day thou wepelt, and wakelt by night, in company thou dielt, and doeft loue to refte folytarilye, Thou hateft pleafure, and loueft penfyuenes : and I have no meruaple : fo: fo: towefull hartes lyueth with teares and weppinge, and be

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n mount ue falute confola nter there ret wind, nde arose othe wa= unidities ge all the p hande, ppfe fau ise I can re,and as It is the rife with ofro Ca des are có te downe, banythed ll the day hou dieft, pleasure, le:fo:fo= re, and be

mery

mery a laugh in bleng. I am righte fozie to fe the loft: but moche moze that foz fo fmalle a thonge thou fuld be caft away as for a hors to lefe all then effate. Dhow bartable is fortune, and howe fone a my faduenture fallethe before our cies: fortune queth thefe cupls, a we fee it not: with her handes the toucheth bs, and we fele it not: the trebeth bs buder fete, and we knowe it not : the fpeakethe in our cares, and we here her not: the crieth aloude buto bs, and we biderftande her not : and this is bycaufe we well not knowe her: and fynally, whan we thynke we are moofte furcht, than are we in mofte pervil. Trouth it is, that with alyttell wynde the frupte fallethe fro the tree : and with a lyttell sparcle, the hous is sette a frze: a small rocke bze= beth a greatte flyppe, and with a lyttell stone the legge is burte. I fave that oftentymes of that we feare not, cometh greatte perpll. In a close fiftula rather than in an open. the furgiens boubte the perpil: In depe ftylle waters the pilote feareth moze than in the greate hpe wawes : Df fe= crete enbulhement rather than of open armies the warriour doubteth: I will not onely fap of ftraungers, but of their owne propre, Aot of ennempes, but of frendes, not of crewelle warre, but of peace, not of open bomage oz flaunder, but of fecrete perpl and mpfchiefe, a wpfe man oughte to beware. Howe manye have we feene, that the thances of fortune coude not abate, and pet within a thort whyle after buwares with greatte ignominious thame bath ouerthowethem? I wolde witte of the , what refte can a persone haue, that trusteth euer bpon the prosperite of fortune, fythe for so lyahte a cause we have sene so aret astrefe in Rome, and suche a losse to the hous : Seenge that I fe, I woll not feare the wondes of her tranaplies, no; beleue in the clereneffe of her plefures, no; her thounders that not fere me, not wil truft boon ber flatteringes. 1102

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noz thanke her for that aby beth with me, nor be forpe for that (be taketh fro me, nor wake for anye trouthe that the farth to me, noz tyle for any of her leplynges, nor laughe for any thyng that the defireth of me, nor wepe for gruing me leave, if thou knowelt not the caufe of this I Mall tell the. Dur lyfe is fo doubtfull, and fortune fo wavewarde, that the both not alway threate in Arykynge, nor Aryketh in thetenpage. The wyle man gothe not fo temperately, that he thynketh at every fleppe to falle, nozlyve with fo finalle a thought, to thynke to ouerth to we in cuery playne pathe. for oftentimes falle fortune faketh her weapon, and ftriketh not, and an other tyme ftriketh without fha: bynge. Beleue me of one thynge Domitius, Chat parte of the lyfe is in most pervile, whan with lyttell thoughte or care men thynke them felfe moft fure . Wylt thou fe the trouthetherof. Adupte the of Dercules that fcaped fro many perpiles by fee and by lande, and pet dred betwene his lemans armes. Laomedon perpfhed not bnder Crop, but was flanne in his house. Greate Alexander oped not in makinge warre ouer all the erthe, but he ended with a lyttel poplon. The couragious Caius Cefar faued hym felfe in . lii . battaples, and after in the fenate was flapme with rrrit. Arokes of penknines. Afclipio brother of Pom peic perified not flotynge. rrii. pere bppon the fee, but he was drowned after in drawing water at a welle. Tenne capitarns that Scipto had with him in Affrike, that bas quished many hard bataples, as they were mockynge on a bapdge, they fel fro the bapdge and were drowned. Good Drulio that had ouercome the Parthes, the day of his til umph goinge to his chariot there fell a tyle that claue a fonder his heed, so that vanne glorpe was the ende of his good lyfe. What fluid I tel the moze! Thou knowest wel that Lucye my fofter haupinge a nebell on her bofom, play enge

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e l'ozpe for e that the oz laughe oz apuina Mall tell wewarde, 2 Atreketh nperately, ie with so erp playne weapon, bout tha: hat parte thoughte hou le the caped fro betwene der Trop, r dred not ided with aued hym as Clarne r of 19 om ce, but he . Tenne that bas kpnaeon red. Good of his tri t clauea ide of his owest wel com, play

enge

enge with her chyloe betwene her armes, the chyloe with his hande hytte the nevell luche a ftroke into her bodye. that he flewe his mother. Oneo Buffyn the confulle, fente ageinst the Germanns, of our tyme was fo balyaunte in armes, that none of our predecessours surmounted bym: pet he kembynge his olde whyte heares, one of the tethe of the combe entred into his beed, wherby grewe an pm= postume, by occasion wherefhe ended his honozable life for fo fmalle a cafe. Howe semethe the Domiting ? As 7 bo tell the of lo finall a nombre, I coude recrte infinite eraples, What misfortunes fell after good fortunes, what mischaunce after great glozie, what mysaduenture after great happe, what greatte cupil they take of their deathe after the begynnynge of greatte welthe in the lyfe. I beinge as they, knowe not what to defire, but they beinge as I am wyll rather chuse the labozous and honourable brathe, than an pil death and an honourable lpfe. To mp fempnge be, that well be a man amonge men, and not a beafte amonge beftes, ought to trauaple foze to lpue well, and moche moze to dye better. foz at the fynall ende an pll bethe putteth great doubte of the good lyfe: and the good bethe excuseth the pll lyfe. I have wanten to the at the begynnynge of my letter, that by reason of the humi= bities, the gowte greuethe me plle. But to fatisfie thy des fire, I wolde farne write with my hande more at length. Two baies the love that I bare to the, hathe faught with the peine that I endure. Dy wille wolde write, but mp fongers can not holde my penne. The remedy is, lithe 3 maye not as I wolde, that thou wyltetake as thin owne that I may bo, as mpne owne bebe. faultine my wife fa= luteth the, who by reasonne of my diseases is halfe vile at eafe. It is thewed her, that thou hafte greatte peine of a butte of thy face, the hathe fentethea bore with baume, that

that thy hurte shall not appere in thy visage, if thou canst fonde any grene almondes or new nuttis, faustine prayeth the to sende her some by this bearer. I have but lytell store of money, therefore I send the a gowne and thy wyse a kyrtell. No more but I pray the goodis to give the that I desire for the: and to give me that thou desirest for me. And beside that I do write to the with my hande, I grue to the myn owne propre herte.

A letter sente fro the emperour to Claudius and Claudyne his wyfe, bycause they beinge olde, lyued as yonge persons.

The.b. letter.

Arcke of mount Celio to the Claudius and Claudine hulbande and wyfe, dwellynge in my warde, I delire helthe, sendyng you this letter. The trouthe is, bycaule ye are my frendes, a bnder my charge, I enquire of them that come fro you of your estates:

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and by theym that go to you, I sende recommendations to you bothe: pf ye have my good wylle demaunde hit of your hartes. And if in your stomacke ye repute and take me but as a suspectous frende, thanne I thinke my selse even cleane condempned. The cruelle fozgetfulnesse, the whiche may be causer of myne absence, peraduenture banysheth the good dedes that ye have received of my persone. If many thynge I have entreated you with lyes, than I require that ye entreate me nothynge with trouth. But if I have bene alwayes your good neyghbour and frende, yf ye have any node of myne honour, than be to me as good. Sayo furion my frende, as we as your patent, passynge this waye to Alexandrye, hathe shewed me

thou canst dine praybut lytell thy wyfe te the that st for me. e, I gyue

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dus and wellpnge dyng you ife pe are Tenquire r effates: nbations ide hit of and take mp felfe reste, the iture bas mp pers ith lves, b trouth. our and an be to pour paemed me

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many thinges the whiche were bone in Rome: a amonge other he fewed me one thinge, that caused me to laughe whan I berd it: and vet it was right areuous to me, wha I thoughte theron. Some thruges we take fodernire in Sporte and mockerie, the whiche afterwarde well confide= red, makethe be berve forve. De thewed me how that ve feme to every man right auncient, and bery yonge in your bornge: for you aray your felfe Dayly with newe apparel. as re fluide ao to weddringes, and where as men do honour you as ancient perfons, pe fbewe your felfe wanton: and whan folke renne to fe aewaawes, pe are not the laft. There is no lyahtnes in Rome, but it is reaestred in your boufe. Thus pe apue pour felfe to pleafures, as they that thynke neuer to haue difpleafure. And finallye whan ve foulde lyfte by your handes, ve entre newely into the was nes of the worlde. Trwely my nevalbours and frendes to (peake with due reuerence, I am a fhamed of your bn= hamefaftnes, and am no leffe forie for pour fautes. There be druerle areuous faultes, that are made lyahte by the bonefte withdrawinge of them. And some other that are but fmal fautes, a fondonge no wais to leue them are eftemed bery great. By all the goddes, I can fynde none occalion howe for to excuse your euplies : but I fee inowe wher with to condempne them. Wherfore pardone me, if that I feme buhoneft to fpeake foo moche, if ye be not honefte in your lyupnge. In good fothe I benape not, but that thou Claudius hafte ben ryahte free and lyberalle of the personne, and thou Claudine realt farze of besage, and many persons for the beutie of thy forehed have becis tious to have had o to wife, but I wold wit of the pouth of Done, a beautie of the other, in blinge al your lives in ba= nitie, what goodly trinkettes pe hope to were in the frayts nes of the Sepulchre, D great foles, pe and foles agapn,

Do ve not knowe vet, that the tyme fleeth with mouvage of wynges! The lyfe tranapleth on her way withoute liftynge of her fete : fortune ftretcheth ber without ftyrpna her armes, 4 the world boydeth it felfe favena nothunge. the flethe confumeth without felung, and our glorre palfeth as it neuer had ben : and finally octh affayleth bs er euer he knocke at the gate . Certapnip it is impossible for to make finewes of blode, of bernes to make bones, of a cracay rocke a playne wave, and of pollible to make im= possible: I mene y none hal thinke but that the grenesse of vouthe, Mall wafte and wydder in aege : D worlde. what a worlde arte thou ! fo lytel is our force a our wekenes fo arcate, that without refuffynge drownefte bs wyllyngly in the depenes of thy perillous whirlepoole: and booch be in the thyckelt of the mountagnes, and leadelte bs out of the brode way wandryng by thy narow pathes, and birngelt be into the rugged ware. Too meane, that they that be greattest in fauour, thou bringest into baunact, to the entente that with one ftroke of the fote thou mapft ouerthzowe them. D worlde. lit. pere I baue bene in the, and pet thou neuer farbelt one trouthe to me, and I have taken the with. r. A. lpes . I neuer defpred any thynge of the, but thou byodest promple it me, but thou neuer gaueft me any thonge promifed me: I neuer treted with the, but thou bearledfte me, I neuer arroued at the, but thou lofte me: I neuer fawe thong in the, wherby T Quide loue the . for all that we fee in the, is worthy to be abhorred. And bifide this, I wote not what is the world. D what faute is in bs thy worldly wretches! for if thou hate bs, we dare not hate the : if thou braule with bs, we muste be stylle: if thou spurne at bg, we muste suffre the: if thou beate be with a fraffe, we fave nothpinge: and pet sf thou woldelt haue be gone, we wel not go. Ind worfte

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mouvnae houte lift ftvarpna othynge. lorre pafcth bs er offible for nes, of a nake tm= e arenesse worlde. ur weke= e bs welole: and D leabelte pathes, ane, that to Daunfote thou aue bene me, and pred anp butthou ter treted ed at the, pherby T thp to be ie world. 2 if thou b bg, we ffre the: and pet

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of all is, that we hadde rather ferue the for nothinge with trauaile, thanne the goddes with praice and refte. I (were to the by the immortable goddes, that often tymes I make accompt of my veres palled: and an other time I revolue my bookes to fee what I have redde . And like wife I De= maund of my frendes to afue me counfayle to know wher init is that I wolde fpeake. I beinge at Rhodes redyng Khethouque, Dy lorde Aduan kepynge me there, at the age of, rrt. vere, my vonge fiche, and no leffe weake than tender at the firste worke I founde solptarinesse, and the folytarines with libertic aboved the worlde: In abovence I felte it, in felynge I folowed it, in folowing I ouertoke it, in ouertakinge I toke it, in takinge I proued it, in pro upnae I tafted it, in taftpnae I foude it bytter, in finding it bytter, I hated it, in hatpinge it, I felte it, in leaupinge it, it retourned, and returnpinge I recepued bit. And in this maner. lii. peres we have caten of one breadde, and dwelled in one house. wha I saw it displesed. I ferued it, whan it fame me thoughtfull it chered me, when I fame it in prosperitie, Toemaunded it, whan it sawe me merpe tt be apled me. And thus we be to gether buto this dape, not ayunge me leauc to goo, no? I wyllynge to Departe frott. D worlde thou haft fo many countenaunces in thy banytic, that thou leadest all wandapinge in bustablenes. Sith we fuffre the to take by, thou will never deliver bs: if we withdraw our fete fro the fnare of fortune, forthwith thou fettrest our leages fast with irons: and if by chance we fple the prons, anon thou manacleft our handes: and though the way be strayte, the pathe sharpe, the fourney longe, and out flefbe weake, pet out bodies are euer lade with bices, and our hartes fulfylled with thoughtes and penfpuenes . Df one thonge I haue great meruaple, and I can not bear le what it is: without any conftraint to the ff.iil. con=

contrary we go furely ouer the bapdge, and pet we wille no an nother wave, and though the fame way be fure, vet we woll aduenture into the gulfre : if the waves be drye, pet will we goo throughe the dyte and myze and plaffe: haupinge meate foz our lyuyinge we ferche foz poyfon to bylle bs , we ferche to be lofte, and may be affured : with out interest we commytte fynne, sepnge pepne commynge withall: and fonally to the entente that we foulde be taken for good, we hote at the whyte of vertues, and hyt the butte of vices . One thynge I confesse, thoughe it be mon owne frame. Daraduenture in tome to come it fall be profitable to fom other : In.l. peres of my life, I wold proue all the vices of this lyfe, to fe if any thinge myahte baue latisfied the humann malyce: And after I had lene all thonge, I founde that the more I byode eate, the more I dred for hongre: The more I flepte, the more fluggy I was : the more I dranke, the more thrifte I hadde, the moze I refted, the moze wery I was : the moze good I babbe, the moze couetous I was : the moze I fought, the leffe I founde: And finallye, I neuer toke pepne for any thynge, but I was euer lette: and than anone I hadde appetite to an other. Lette no man thynke to lyue in the flefhe, and fatisfie the flefhe. It hath power to take fro bs our lpfe: and we have no power to take from it the dif-I wolde fanne knowe of the goddis, ordinate couetife. why our days (buld have an ende. D cruell goddes what ts this : We can neuer palle one good lifes dap, we do but tafte it, and fo paffeth our lyfe, and lyfe is but a breame, and Dethe waketheit. Lette euerpe man knowe, that the worlde takethe our wplle, and we with our good wyl give it therto: and it takethe our wylle to the ende to contente bs, and payle that we prayle, and the tyme pallethe loo, that we lyue after the curled tyme. To attapne bertues

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we wolle be have good defire: but to attayne to bices we putte to e fure, pet alle our warkes. This have I farbe for you Claubrus s be drve. and Claudine, that in the score peres pe wylle not plice id plashe: noz goo oute of the paifon of the woalde : Baurnge vour poylonto feete putrifyed with your and charnes . What is thanne ed : with to be hoped of yonge personnes, whiche be of frue and ommpnae twenty peres olde? Excepte my memozye faple me: whan loe be ta-I was with you, ve habbe your neuewes fonnes of your s, and hyt chyldren marved, and nyeces doughters of your dough= uahe it be ters maried : and me thynketh whan the guynes comme. ne it (ball the seasonne of cheries is not comme : and whanne the fe, I wold newe wone is tounned, the dave bulkes are cafte oute. e mpahte Canne ve luftre dpucts neuewes, fonnes to your chylhad fene bene in your house, and fewe yeres in your personnes! the more Selbomme we fee the fruyte and the flowe to gether: for e flugar hadde,the F dood 3 ought, the e for any 7 hadde ue in the take fro it the dils

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whame the one is type and in feafon, the other is cleane cone and auopbed. In this case I thynke meruaple, howe pe canne be of manye peres, and feeme to be ponge. I knewe none other thynge, but whanne pe marped Lamberte pour doughter to Daulio, and Matrone pour nece, boughter of pour doughter, with Lamberte, that were all lyttelle and younge chylogene : and fythe ye be of a good aege. and lacke good, may grue buto eche of theym twentye peres of your agge in stede of their downe . And soo pe shall bulade you of yeres, and charge you with other mennes goodes and fubstaunce . Ro leffe this mattiet palleth in my thoughte, than the fhorte clothe dothe in a falle weuers handes. Ye have strayned it on the tentours. and drawen hit on the perche for to lengthen the lyfe. If pe were made fange clere coodwayners ware, and fwete ofsmelle, that re myghte be drawen out a lengthe, bit were welle doone, but ye are but as fruyte of almondes,

fempnae die without, and worme eaten within, for the love that I have to you, and for negabourheed that ye haue had with me, I befrze ftell frendfheppe of pou , that lyke as I knewe you you ge and bery youge, fo to knowe pou olde and bery olde. Tay not that pe furmout in age, but your wytte fapleth you. D Claudius and Claudine, I welle pe knowe, that to fusteene pouthe, and to deface age, to length the lyfe, and bitue away bethe: it is not in mennes handes that defire hit : it is the goddis that doo giue it, whiche accordinge to iuftyce and our couetyfe, gis ueth bs lyfe by weighte, and beathe without measure. Ye may know that our nature is corruption of our body, and our bodye is putrifaction of our wytte, and our wytte is gupde to our foule, and our foule is mother of our defp= tes, and our defires are fleers of our youthe, a our pouth token of our age, and our age fpre of our bethe, and bethe the house of our lyfe, wherin to youthe goth on fote, and fro age we canne not flee on hozs backe. I wolde wyte a thinge of you: what finde pe in this lyfe ? wherfore Dothe lyfe content you after. lrrr. peres of age? epther pe haue ben good oz pl: if pe haue bene good and bertuous, pe that not reionce you with pll goddis: if pe haue benne pll, than as well befire bethe, to thentente pe fhulbe be no moze pli: oz els tuftly ve might be flayn by tuftice. foz he p hathe be pli tyl. ir. peres of age, in him there is no hope of amendmente. Whan the couragious great Dompeie, and Cais Cefar were ennemies, and beinge in cruell ciuil battaples, Kome was infamed, and theym felfe lofte . The annales thew, that fuch as came in favor of Julius Cefar came out of the west, and the fuccours of Dompcie out of the caste, amonge other there came certapne people oute of Barbas tie, owellynge amonge p mutayns Riffces toward Inde Their custome was whan they came to thage of. I. peres,

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1. for the ed that pe pou , that to knowe üt in age, Claudine, to Deface t is not in s that boo uetple, ais eafure . Ye body, and t wptte is our defp= our pouth and Dethe fote, and De wyte a fore Dothe er pe haue ous, ve that ne pll, than o more pll: phathe be of amendand Cais battaples, be annales ar came out f the eafte, of 2Barba pard Inde:

of. I. peres,

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to make areat frzes, and brenne them felfe quicke in factis foce to there goddis, and the fame day the parentes & chilbren wolde make great feaftes, and eate of the flethe balfe brente, and brynke wyne with the aftes of the bones . This was fene with the eies of Dompet, bicaufe that for accumplythed the yeres of fyftye in his campe. D golber moilde, wherin were fuche men. D happy people, that in all the worldes to come bath left fuch a memorie of them. They dispised the worlde, and forgatte them felfe. What frokes gaue ther to fortune ! What Delptes for the flethe! and howe lettell fette thep by thep; lyues, and pet moze, to fet fo finall ftoze by bethe! D what bribel was this for the bicious, and what hope for the bertuous, what confusion forthem that loved this lyfe, and what ensample, not to feare bethe, haue ther lefte be! And fith ther Difpiled their owe propre lyfe: it is then to be thought, that they Died not to thentent to take other mens goodes, to thinke that our lefe neuer that have ende, therfore our couetple neuer bath ende. D glozious people, and. r. 99. tymes blyffed, that lefte their fenfualite, and banquy fbed their naturalle wille, beleue not that pe fe, but apue farth to that pe nener fame, as they that fe nothying go agaynft the fatal Deftenies: who gothe agaynfte the wave of fortune, grue a winche to the lyfe, robbe the body at the Dethe, wynne ho= nour of the goddis, not that they shulde length your lyfe, but to take the refte of the lpfe. Archagatus furgien, and Anthonius the philitien, and Elculapius the father of me dicines, I thinke wanne but lyttelle in that lande. Who commanded thefe Barbariens to take frome in the moznyng, and to take pylles at night, and to refrethe them with mplke, to take clere barly to anount thep; lyuers, to bay to be lette blode, and to mozowe to take a purgation, to eate one thing, and to abitern fro many thinges. Than

me thinke that they beynge of. I. pere of age, and you of Irrr. at the leafte fulbe be egall with them in topfedome. Ind if pe wyll not take beth in good worth, pet at the leeft amende the pil lyfe . I remembre wel of a long tyme, that fabricius, our nerbour wylled bs to beware of a mockes rie, the whiche if it be not broken, there Chall folowe great bishonour . And fith he thewed me foo good a lefton, I well pay you with the same money. I well theme it you, if ye pooze aged folkes do not knowe it : ye be luche, that pour eyes are bleared, your notes broppynge, your beas res whyte, pour berynge bulle, pour tongue faulteryng, pour tethe magarnae, pour face wincled, pour fete (wollen, pour fulbres croked, and pour fomake biftempered. finally if the graves coude (peake, they myght ryghtfully calle for you to come, and inhabite in them . Df trouth it is great compassion to beholde ponge ignorance, that open their eies to knowe the infortunes of this lyfe, whan it is trine to close them and to entre into the grave. And therof cometh that it is in bayne to give counfaile to bain ponge people. for pouth is without experience of that it both a is suspect of vit bereth, a will not beleue vis fand. and difprayleth other mes coulel, a is ryaht poore of their owne. Ind therfoze I fage Claudius and Claudyne inp frendes. I tynde without comparison none so plle an ignozance of goodnes, that holdethe thefe ponge perfones, as is the oblinacy of thele aged perfones in pll. The diffinition of pll, is a man not to knowe that he oughte to knowe, yet it is wors to have the knowlege of wpfebome, and to lyue lyke a brute beafte . D. pe olde goutre people, pe forgette pour felfe, and renne in pole after the lyfe, and pe neuer regarde what Chall falle, toll pe be luche as pe molde not, and without power to retourne backe : a berof cometh, that pe lacke of lyfe, pe well supplye it with foly. Than

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pou of fedome. the leeft me, that a mocke= we areat leffon, 1 e it pou. che, that our heas iltervna. fete (wol= empered, ahtfullo trouth it e, that ofe, whan aue. And le to bain of that it pis fard, ze of their ubpne inp lle anigperlones, . The dif: oughte to ppsedome, re people, e lpfe, and iche as pe e: & herof

with foly. Than

Than awake ve that be Clombing, haue no force to flepe, oven your flepy cies, and accustome you to bo wel : Take that is nedefull for you: and finally appoint you betimes with bethe, or be make execution of your lyfe. Lit, peres Thaue knowen theym of the worlde, pet I coulde neuer knowe none fo old, no; fo putrified in their membres, but that their hartes were hole to thinke bnhappynes, a their tonques hole to make lpes. Take hebe pe pooze olde perfons, me thinke fith fomer is pafte, pe halt fozwarde with the trine: and if ye tary a smalle feason, pet pe make bafte to take lodgrage. I meane that thoughe pe haue past the pay in the fee with peril, the night of Dethe wyll take you at the porte of helthe. Bockes Do palle with mockynges, and trouth with trouthe : though I have lene you ryahte ponge and hardy, nowe I fe you berp olde: Thoughe the knight palle his cours, pet it is not his faute if the hole be not well repned: but at the ende of his cours, he wille tromme his horfe : Let not that beaple you, that of cuftom bath bearled men: That is re Chalbe as wel estemed therby, as though ye had moche moneye. I beleue ye folome bruers, and pet thep all have enup at you. But trufte me, that at the ende, honour is apuen to a ponce person poose a bertuous, rather than to an olde person riche a bicious. The tyche may have power to be more estemed with pore people, and accompanyed with tyche and couctous: but the bertuous poore perfon that be better eftemed and leffe bated. What can be greatter confusion to a personne, oz more hame to our mother Rome, than to fe in divers pla= ces the old people behaue and appopnte therm as ronge folke, as though they lyke the byne leaves byo newly bur gein! What thinge is it to fee the olde perfones nowe in our bares, brande and make farze thep; whyte heares, trymme and bembe their beardes, weare ftrapte flowes, Ga.ii. their

their holen garbed, their (burtes frounced, their clokes of fcarlette, their bagges enbiobied, their chaines of golbe about their neckes, fringes of gold and folger about their annarell, eftrice fethers bopon their hattes libe arches. perles and ringes on their fyngers lyke Indiens , they? gownes long lyke flamme preftes, and finally worft of al whan bethe bath avuen them bay than they answere that newely they well ferue a lady! D how many have I knowen in Rome that were highly renoumed in their youth. and after through wanton lyahtneffe they were but lofte in their age: and worlt of all, they lofte their renoume in their age, and the fa wour of their parentes, and the profytte of their children. Certaynely Buagyn Caton of the ancient linage of the Catons was in Rome a prieft of the law. b. peres, a prouoft. iu. peres, and Cenfure.ii. peres. a Dictatour one pere, and Confule. b.tymes, a whan be was palt the age of. lrb. peres, than be began to ferue Rofane boughter of Gneus Curcius, a labre ryahte favze a ponce and he boted fo farre in her love, that he fpent all that he had to ferue her and wold were lyke a chylo whan he fat ber. It fortuned this lady fell fycke of a feuer, and the lyfted to eate newe grapes, and it was in springe tyme, wha there was none ripe as than in Rome. He fent fog fome to the felde of Danubius, that was a . 90 . and . b . C. mple thense, and this was thewed to the senate, and they order ned, that Rolana was closed in with the birgins bestales, and the old man was banyfhed perpetually out of Kome, and his children loued in greatte pouertre, and the father bred infamed . I beleue that pe haue herbe of this. There were bruers that reputed for a greate bilanve the Dede of the olde louer, and prayled the Centence of the Cenate. But I thinke if Gaugen had had as many ponge persones in his banishement, as there were old amozous persons that

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take by bym crample. I thinke there fould not be fo mane men lofte, noz fo many women fo pl marieb. and therfore the befte is, that fuche people, whanne they be warned ba their feruantes, and reproued by their parentes, and Deff red by their frendes that they make not ercufe a fay bome they be not amozous but in mockery, aoban I was bery roa both of ace a wpt, on a nyaht I met with a nevalboz of mon noch to the capitol. I was his neuel a fon to his fonne. a fard to him. Aby load fabricius ve are amozous thus and thus : De anfwered me. I bo it but for paftyme. Certapnip Thad meruaple to mete him at that houre, and I was abalhed of that answere that he gaue me. In them that be fore aged and of fadnes and grauttie fuche requefes ought not to be called amours, but rather bolours, not a paftrine, but a lofte trine, no mockerie but a folyfbe= nes. for in loue with mockery foloweth the trough of infampe. To the Claubius and Claubine, I bemaunde of you olde louers, what is it to be polyfhed and arrayed as re be fo garly, but the bronde of the tauerne, where there is nothunge but binegre, fapze egges a nothung in them, aplte polles and bitter in talte, an olde botcli, and a newe flopell, a hole wounde rancled undernethe, the flaure of an ore to take partriches, a flypper way, where no fote is fure, and fonally an olde louer is as a knyahte becaved, p helpeth to lefe money, a can belpe no man fro perill. DE trouth the old lecherous louer is as a fwyne with a white beed and a grene tapile. Than me thinke pe that be mp frendes and nerghbours, re take no hebe in brekinge the winges out of felon whan the fethers be gone: and pet pe beaple me not, to fap that there is tyme inoughe. Beleue me, that that mave be done in the day, leave it not tyll the nyght of your age. for the blunt anife cutteth but pl with the edge, and he that is wont for to eate the fleffe, can not Gaitt. eate

eate the boones. Than lette be comme to the remedye to redrelle this bommage, that is, if the howse begynne to falle, (hoze and flave it not with pieces of sclender tymbie, but with freight pollers of the lofe, that we have to pelde the goddes, and to men by good fame. And if the byne of all our bertues be redy to be gabered, at the leaft lette bs gather that is lefte bs by bnderstandynge. And sithe the waters of our refte are wasted with our pll werkes, lette by water them with newe mufte of good belires, and tha the good goddis wel be content with the feruices that we ought to Do fo; the merites and rewardes that thep Do to bs, foo that if we befire to attapne golde foz our warkes, pet to pay be with the copper of our good belires. Ind finallie I fay to you Claudius and Claudine, if ye have of fred the meale of your youthe to bices, offre nowe at this tyme the branne of your age to the goddis . I have with ten thus largely to you as I thinke : and bycaufe pe thall not be taken as cowardes, no; I for hardy, give no parte of this letter to any perfon.

Tand I desire you to have me recommended but alle my neighbours in Rome, namely to Drustine the honourable widowe. I send to the two thousande serters, thou shalte give a thousanne of them to Gaurina the doughter to thy doughter, I sende hit to her for a pleasure that the didde me at a feaste. Faustine my wife is very sycke. Thou shalte give the other thousande to the Aestale virgines, that they maye prace for her but othe goddis. To the Claudine, faustine my wife sendethe a costre, but by the goddes I canne not telle what there is within it. Nowe that ye be aeged, I beseche the goddes to send you and me and my wife for to ende the reste of our daies in a good life. Marke your nephbour and frende hath wh

ten this with his owne bande.

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oop Eq a letter fent fro Mark themperour to Labinia a Romain widowe, for to comforte her for the beth of her hulbande. The beletter.



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Arc of mounte Celio, first Consule Rosmain sent ageinst & Daces, to the Labinia isomian lady, wife to my good frede Claudine, salute to the, a cosolation of & goddes consolatours. I think wel, thou hast suspecte, & Jhaue so littel set by the, sith in thy prosoud and greuous hurtes

my confolation hath ben floutheful. But I remembre thp noblenes, whiche can neuer faile: and my good wil b whi the hath euer delired to ferue the. I am in furetie that the greate bertue fhulbe put away the lufpecte. for thoughe Tam the lafte to comforte the, pet Tam the firfte that feleth thy polours, and thal not be the latte to remedye thy troubles. Ind in cafe that ignorance is the end of all bertues, esperance for al bices, as wel somtime great plesure taketh away reft fro the wyle folkes, & sclandieth the inno centes : moch better among bs latyns we fynd with iano tance of bices, more that the grekes Do with the knowelege of bertues. If p we be ignozat, we have no pepne to abibe it, not fotow to take it. I fap it bicaufe I haue knowe, \$ 3 bold not know, and that is, the trauaples ar at an ende of Claudin thy hulbande, a now beginneth the forom of Labinia. I have knowe it certaph daps, a wolde not difcouer ttop, for it fould haue be cruelte. She p hath ben in trouble fo loge a space with ablece, y I shuld have give know lege of the beth of fuch an entierly befired bufbab:att hab ben no reason, that the of whom I have recepted so many good bedis Chuld have of me fo pil newes. Ind fith & bour I knew, that pe woft therof, my pepne bath ben bouble. I fele

3 lettet

I fele bis bethe, and nowe I fele in his bethe my folytai rines, and the defolation . Thou half reason to wepe, not for that he is with the goodis in refte, but for be mpfera ble perfong lyuinge in the power of foo many plles, ther: fore we foulde not ceffe to take pepne and forome. D Labinia oftentymes I have thoughte, for what thringe I myght frifte wepe, for the pil that lyueth, or for the good that opeth. for as moche hurteth the pll that is found, as the good that is lofte. It is great peppe to fee thefe inno: centes bre, and futely it is no leffe pepne to fe the malicious people lyue. But of that that of neceffitie mufte nebes come, whan it cometh we ought not to sclaundze hit. Shewe me Labinia, bolt thou not knowe of howe good convertation the goddes be, to whom we hope to go. and how pll the men be, with whome we are conversant, that as the pl are borne to Dre, in loke wole the good Drethto Ipue: for a good man alway lyueth in byenge, and the pll alwayes dyeth in lyuynge. And than fith the goods have caused bim to come to thepm, but is noo great thynge that they baue taken fro the. I am in certayne thy Defpred hulban Clauden, and my true frende, feing where he is, and temembaringe what be bath scaped, bad rather to be stylle there as he is, than to returne again to the. Of trouth the remedres for widowes is not to thanke of anye company palted, noz of the folptarines prefent, but to thinke of the cell that they hope to come to. If bytherbnto thou hall be in peine, abidinge in thy house, nowe resorce the bycause he abideth for the in his for thou falt be moche better en: treated amonge the goddes, than here amonge men: no! consent not to thynke, that thou balte lofte hym all onely. for foth we all recoveed of his lufe, we are than bounde to wepe for his dethe. The greatteft forowe to a fycke hatt amonge all other forowes, is to fe other reionce, at his Do led b

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faurs : and contrarve bofe, the greatteft eafe amonge all greues of fortune, is to fee that other feleth their forome. Bil that my frend weveth for me with his eies, and al that he feleth of mp forome, buichargethe fome what mone inwarbe peyne. The bokes in the tyme of Buqufte the emperour heweth, howe as he was nere to the rpuer of Da: nubius, be founde a maner of people, baupinge this cuftome: The fame houre whan a bulbanbe taketh a wpfe. or a louer, they wolde (were by their goddis nener to were nor forowe for any maner of infortune, but to forget they? owne propre troubles, and to ove to remedre their louer. afo in lykewife eche to Do with other. D alogious mogloe, Dright happy age. D people of cternall memorie, wber= inthe men were fo humble, and their louers foo true, that bolde forgette their owne forobe, and wepe for other. D Rome bernge Rome : D trine pli fpente : D lpfe plle ap= pled. D fmall thoughte recheleffe is in thefe Daves , the bartes prefente feperate from welth, and affured without temedy in eupll, that men forgettynge that they be men. tourne them felfe to beaftes ! I befire to apue the lofe and thou dreft to take aware my lpfe : Thou wench to fe me laugh and I laugh to fe the wepe. And thus without pros frte of any of be welele, and we recopce in lefpnge of our felfe. By the lawe of an honefte man I (were to the Labyma, if the remedy lay in my bandes, as the forome Dothe at my harte, thy pittefulle weppinges (houlde not hurte me, nor the beur and wofull folytarines of the hafbande: but fithe the remedy and my defire can not be accomple[= hed, and that with ocathe, no; with them that be deed we baue no power: than cemit it into the handes of the god= bis, who can moche better belpuer be than we can chufe. be fe by experience naturalle, that fome fockenes is healed by wordes, that be layd to bs, and fomme by wordes that

that be lapte to be, and some with wordes to leave other medicines. I far this, bicaufe the hartes that be in perne make a fee of thoughtes, fomtyme comforted with benefitis Done to the perfon, more than with wordes fpoken in their eares: an other trine the forowfull herte is more coforted with wordes of a frende, than with all other feruices of the worlde. D how forowfull am I, for in alle thefe am I fauty, confiderynge the highnes, of the honourable ladp Bomarn, and the imal abilitie of me Darc of mout Celia! I fe my felfe fo bnable to comforte the, and to remedpehe Tlacke lubstance, I haue mabe the a foze woud, the whiche wolde be taken in worthe. I will not pare the with pute and paper, that whiche I map do with my per-Cone: for he that anueth counsell with wordes, man remes op with workes, if he thewe hom felfe a frend in tyme paft nottaken in Suspecte to bean ennemy in tyme to come . If thou half reputed me hytherto for thy neighbour and pacent to the bulbande, I prave the nowe to take me for the hulbande in loue, and forthy father in counselle, and for fonne in feruice; and for advocate in the fenate, in fuche maner that I hope thou fhalte fap, all that I have lofte in many, I baue founde in Marc alone . Ind bycaule that in greuous conflyctes, where as crafte and fubtyltie is forgotten, the binberftandpinge is altered, and the reasone withdrawen, thanne there is as moche necessitie of good counfell as of a meane remedy. Claudyne nowe deed was my frende, and I Marcalpue am his, and allo by thy deferuynge thou mapfte commaunde me what thou wylte: and for the love that I have to the, thou mapfte befrze of me any thynge nedefull. I play the eschewe the extremite of the Komarne woodowes . for in all extremities lethe the bice, for al fuch werieth them felfe, a anoveth the goddis and lefe them that be alive, a do no profit to them that

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be beed, but avue fuspection to them o be flas oib Finia wife to noble Darc Dercello fbe feinge berhufband buried in the felde of Mars, fcratched her wifage, and tare ber beer, a brake her tethe, at every pace (wouned, a two fenators belo her by the armes, bycaufe fhe fhulo not hurt bet felfe: Tha fait flaui? Cenfirtie;let ber alone, forthis day fire wil folow the tourney of widowes, a fo it was, for whiles of the bones of Darcello were a bieninge, the was intreting to mary on other hufbad, a pet moze to be noted, one of the lenatours o'led ber gaue ber bis bande, as one Romain to another by perpetual mariage. This cafe was fo foulc, take a of euery ma for a gret bilainie, a al the Bos mains there prefent were abathed, were in fufpect neues after to beleue widow in Bome. I fave not this Labinia. breause thou welt bo so: for by the god Mars Towere, the bart of Marchath of p no luch lafpect, northp great age well not fuffre it, nor the auctoritie of lo fabbe a matrone well demande it. I require the realt hartily, forgette not the honestie that ought to be in a Romanne woman, noz tetrapte that is requilite in a wodowe, for if thou be a wibowe of Colytarynes, that thou feleft by him that is beed; than comfort the of the reputation that is holden of the by them that be liuing. I wil fap no moze to the at this time, but that thy renoume may be fuche with all men, to cafte fuche a bribell bopon theym that be pile, to cause them to be ftil : and to them that be good to grue them fources to ferue the. And if pe well thus do, take no thought for any befones that pe haue in the fenate. Dop wofe fauftin gre= teth the, and oftentymes wepeth for this myladuentute . I fend the money to pay the creditours. The goddis that baue apuen refte to Claudine thy bufbande, que comfort and confolation to Labinia his worfe . Barc of mounte Celio hathwaiten this with his owne hande.

Ph.ii, Aletter

Taletter fent by Marc themperour to Cyncinatus his frende, bycaule he beinge a gentylman became a marchant. The. bii.letter.



Arc Edilis Censure, to the Cincinatus of Capue sende salutation for the person, force and vertue agenst sinister for tune. Syth the feast Berescinte, moder of the goddis, I have sene no servaunte of thy house, nor letter of thy hand, that I have redde, the whiche putteth me in

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areat suspection of the helthe, and that thou arte in some perpli, or els thou dispapleft our amitie. Epfcharginge not the felfe with foo tettell thoughte, noz fozgette be net with fo great recheleines : for the trauaille can not be fo moche in writinge, as it thulb be confolation to me to rebe thy letters, and if thy hande ware flowe frome trauapile of writynge, pet enforce myn harte for myn eale, wherin is femblaunt of true frendes. In that I wyll put the fro annovaunce, and thou to do me pleafure : thou knowelt wel the small distaunce that is betwene Capue and mount Celio, was not the cause of our frendeshyppe, but the space bens to Illitico fould not cause be to be fraungers. The delycate wynes fent out of they; owne countrey to fraungers take the gretter mpaht: and the ferther that the perfons of true frendes be seperate, the sooner they ought to binte a toyne to acther their myndes. Shew me I praph Cyncinate, fyth thou halt euer founde me true, why halt thou any suspecte of my despre! The grene leues outward thewethe, that the tree is not dive inwarde: and the good werkes openly notifieth the inwarde hart fecretly. 300 here it is not perfite, there is always breaking and farling in ferupce:

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cinatus the perfer for= asdom, cuaunte nd, that th me in in fome arginge e bs net not be fo c to rebe rauaplie herin is efro anwest wel unt Cehe space rs. The fraun: the perought to a prap p by hafte utwatb

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feruice: for he that perfytly loueth, perpetually and farthe fully ferueth . And I am as moche aftonied of thy flouth, in demaundyinge fom what of me, as of the couwardete to wate. I wyl confesse to the one trouthe, if thou habbeste as moche hardynes as wyll and thought of the smalle effecte of my letter myght fatiffye to the greatenes of thyn understandpinge, it shulde abyde than foz pil done, but not for Chorte, as be that throweth his speare. In tyme paste whan I was ponge, a thou olde, thou in the counsaries, a I with my money eche gaue to other: but at this houre that thy heed is whyte, men reken the to be olde, a vet thy workes accuse the to be ponge . Reason is that I succour thy pouertie with money, a to remedy thy lyahtenes with councell. for the good well that I have to the, and for the lawe of amitte that I owe to the, I wyll aductife the as a bertuous man ought to bo, and that is to remember the benefites that he bath recepued, and to forget the infuries done to hym: efteme moche his owne smalle power, and holoe the greatnes of other at nothing : fauour the good, and distimule with the eupli : be great with the greattest, and communicable with your inferiours: prefentlye doo good bedes, and also of them that be absent speake good wordes: The arenous loffes of fortune, holde therm in fmall estimation, and the small losse of honour, holde that in great estimation, for one thynge aduenture not money, and for opuers doubtfull aduenture not a certaintic: and finally be frende to one and ennemie to none. Thefe thinges ought he to have, that amonge good wyl be accompted good . I knowe well thou half left to be pretour of the warre, and nowe thou hafte fette thy felfe by lande and by fee to ble marchandple. Thou makeft me foze abalbed, to conquere then comies as a Romann, and nowe to take on the the office, to perfecute thy frendes as a trant. wyite Dh.iit. thou

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thou do pil to the nepabbours, and leave the straungers! welt thou take away the lyunge fro hym that grueth bs liuing, a take away the beth fro him that takith away our life! wilt thou to them that be mouers and ftrangers give moderation, a fro them that be fobre take away their refte! Thou welt grue to them that take away fro be, and take fto them that grue bs: belyuer them that be condempned, and condempne innocentes. Thou welt be titaunt to the common welth, and not befender of the countray. Than fithe to all this be aducutureth bym that leaveth Dedes of arines, and becometh a marchaunte: I ftuby fooze what hath meuch the to leave chivalrie, wherin thou hafte had great honour, and nowe to take on the an office, wherby foloweth fo moche hame and rebuke. Surcipe I thynke in the none other excuse, but that thou art olde, and canste not clymbe the mountagnes, and nowe thou fettefte figlie and robbest the playing. To olde men olde malady, whan outwarde force fayleth theym, than forthwith they arme them with malyce inwarde. I fap it by the foze couetoufe perfons as thou art now. One thinge I wil far, thou hall taken an office, wherby al thy felowes have robbed in dp uers days, thou halte avue occompt therof in one houre, pe and after the tyme (hall come, that thou halt lefe all is a moment. for the goddes permyt that one fhall be a cha-Attement of divers, and longe tyme chaftifeth all . Howe falle is it my frende Concenate, that in the house of thy father bene Cincinate were fpeares, and not waitynges hanginge! I ont baue fene his halle full of armure, and not of fardels:and ethe portall and gates ful of knightes, a not marchantis . Cer bher tapnlythere haue I fene the scole of noblenes, and not as their tt is now the denne of theues. D Cincinate, curled be lo bi all th layn an office, the marchatis live pozely to die ryche: ald there bs fay agern, curled be it, bycaufe the couetyfe of one that becal is il,

is il,

aungers! is pll, wolde be accomply (thed to the prejudice of many & queth bs be good. I will not hurte the by thy predecessours, but I away out wol aduertife the of thy myferie and of thy fuccesfours. If gers give thou thinkest, of the bertue shulbe holde to the ende of the heir refte! worlde, as the worlde holdeth to the, as it semethe by thy and take white beares, holde me excused of the trauaril in perswa= bempned, dynge the to here me. How be it, it is reson that the gate of unt to the lo great a cause be knocked at with the hamer of som war= p. Than Inpng, 4 to bring it to good refon, of necessitie it must passe h bedes of the mylle: and to make clere the buderstanding from tyme ooze what to tyme, of very nede there requireth counsel. Divers ty= hafte had mes wife men faple bicaufe they wold faple, but if the thin wherby ges be of fuche qualitie, that wifedom fuffifeth not to af-I thynke fire them, than it is nebeful, that his well be bntied, and and canfte his binderstandinge dissoluce, and his owne propre opptefte fivile nion boyde, and than incontynente to take a thicde to the dy, whan adupte of an other. Take good hede Cincinate, where as thep arme the foundations be not wel edified, the buildynges ar in pe couetoule wi. The bongeon of this world, wherin we children of ba thou hal nitie Do abybe, is founded on the fande. for let it be ne= . bed in de ler fo fumptuous, pet a lyttell blafte of wynde well caufe one houte, itto fake, and a lyttell heate of profperitie wyl open it. lefe allin and a lyttel rayne of aductitte wylle diuide it, and with= il be a cha: in a fhort whyle or space, whan we least take hede, it wylle all . Howe falle al flatte on the erth. If the pillers be of fpluer , and thy father benches of gold, and though the benchers be kynges, and acinge! I continue a thousand pere, a rule into the entraples of the edels:and othe: pet they can fynde no ftedfafte rocke noz moutayne, ntis. Cer wherin to cloofe the goodes of their predeceffours, and and not as their clates perpetual. The goddis immortal have made ed be so bi all thinges comunicable to me mostal, except imostalitera pche: ale therfose they be called imostal, bicause they never dy, a we of one that becalled mortal and failynge, bicaufe we al take an ende. Dow

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Bowe fronge so ever the walles be, vet great age causeth it to falle to ruiue. Two thinges femeth to be fre, the whiche fortune can not let abacke, nor the tyme caule to be for gotten, a they be thefe: The good og pli cenoume amonge men, and the perne or rewarde that they that be good or plle haue of the goddis. D iny frende Cincinate, thus a: cheueth the persones, but the goddis neuer. What grene or type or rotten holdeth any feafon the fruyte of the tree Roured! Tefteme it nothinge bycaule it muste de by na: ture. Howe be it dyners tymes in leaves and flowies we beare the frost of some malady, or the blast of some enuy: ous myshappe. Longe is the webbe in making: but that is made in many days, is cut a fonder in a moment: Dem blable it is a pitous thinge to fe a man dye with fo greate trauaple, and to be fette in the flate of honour, and after whan we, nepther regardinge the one not the other, and pet we fe it periff. And without any memorie of any thing sbidinge. Diny frende Cincinate, for the loue betwene bs I pray the and by the immortal goddes I confure the, beleue not the worlde, the whiche buder the colour of a lytelle golde, hydeth moche fylthynes, and buder colour of trouthe chaungeth be into a. 99. lpes, and for a short de lpte queth bs a. 90. bispleasures. To them whom it he weth most loue, it begileth with greattest tromperies : to whom the worlde giveth moste goodes, it procurethe most bomages: to them that serueth it with mockeries, hit rewardeth with true recompences: and to them that loueit truly, it giveth them goodes of mockeries: finally whan we slepe moofte fureft, it waketh by with greatte perple. What wpite thou fay than of the worlde, thewe me? One thringe I wille tell the , and me thinke thou fhuldefte not forgette it: and that is, men oughte not beleue the bapne banites that we fe with our cies, tather than the greatt mtt:

caufeth the whito befor amonge good o: thus a: at grene the tree e by na: wies we ne enups but that nt: Dem o greate ind after her, and my thing betwene ture the, rofalp= colour of Choat des om it (be eries:to ethe most g, hit te at loue !! lly whan e perplle. ne! One Defte not he vapne e greatte

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meruaples that we here with our eres. One thing I have regarded, and by longe experience I have knowen it that but a fewe houses paynted not stalkes revsed by we have fene in Rome: but of a small tyme they take noo thoughts for the walles, but they have cruelle enmittes with they? nepghbours, and great anove of their heires, and importunate fhame of they; frendes, and bouble malyce of their ememics, and enupous proufite in plenat, a fomtpme to put a governour out of possession they fet foure in honor: and finally all that with great thought have be gathered for they, chyloe, whom they love wel with great reft, some time an other heire eniopeth it, of whom they thinke leeft. It is a fuste fentence, that suche as begyle opuers with yl bedes in their lyfe, full be begiled of they? bayn though= tes at their beth. Cruel Gulbe the goddis be, and ryghte greuous for men to fuffre, that the yll that hath gathered for one hetre in the preludice of opuers & be good, foulde eniope it many peres. De thinke it hulde be a fouetapne foly to be borne weppinge, to dre sighynge, and to lyue laughynge. The rule to gouerne all partes ought to be e= gall. D Cincinate, who hath begyled the, that for a potte full of water, thou haste nede of a greatte laake of this worlde to passe this wretched lyfe? wylt thou fice away the skynne of thy handes with the corde of thoughtes, breake thy body in batayle with greate trauaple, and aduenture then honour for one potte of water ! What welte thou moze that I foulde fap : but that to fpl a potte of the goo= des thou welt fuffre a. 90. perplles. And in the bele erercylinge of thy marchandyle, thou doubtelt not for leling of thy credence. And fynally I sweare to the, thou halte abyde deed for thurste, as though there were no water in the feldes. If thou wylt do by my counsarle, despre death of the goddes, to refte the as an aged wyle man: and des maunde

maunde not rycheffe to lyue yll as a yonge foole. I have fore wepte for many, that I have feen in Rome Departed out of this worlde, and for the Thaue wepte Droppes of bloude, to fe the returns newly a bylely to the worlde. Aby amptie and the credite of the fenate, the bloud of the pies Decessours, the auctoritie of thy person, and the honour of the countrey ought to refrance the couertousenesse. Oh frende, thy whyte heares (heweth honour and wy sedoine, the whiche fould exercise and be occupied in noble Dedes. Regarde, it anayleth moze to folowe reason by the waves of them that be good, than the compn opinion, whiche is the large way of thepm that be yll. for thoughe the one be ftrapte for the fete, it refeth no bufte for to blynd the cies as the other booth, to lyaht youae personnes, whiche procure lyahtneffe: panoraunce excufeth theym, but the Disordinate couetise of the olde persones causeth theym to occupre they lyfe with trauaple, and to take deathe with areat anovaunce, and in the one as welle as in the other abydeth greatte infamp. D Cincinate take this counfell of a frende : Charge not thy felfe with takinge of thefe bayne goodes, lith thou hafte fo smalle a mosselle of the lyfe. for suche as thou arte, we se consume, and walte, and not to quicken: put no truft in frendes in the prefente prosperitie, for it is a pronostication of an euvile fortune. And fithe thou arte in a halarde lyke a foole, me thynke thou oughteft to discende a fote lpke a sage persone. Ind thus every man wyll fave, howe Cincynate is Difcended and not fallen: I will fay no more, but the goddes be thy fauegarde, and Defende bothe the aud me from aplefulle fortune. Dp wife fauftine faluteth the, and fbe is withbrawen from me bycaule I wrote this letter to the, and hath confured me to waite this woade to the, that is, the faythe thou oughtefte to have witte when thy necke is full

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bert the f ofheare, and I thynke thou oughtefte in continente to take a barber a shaue away the heare, that thy wytte may come forth. I wolve thy countrie should forlake the, and folye faustin, and the gowte me, a the sooner our soules may departe fro our sleshe, than gile shuld remayne in our hartes. Marc of mout Celio writeth this with his hande.

Calletter sente fro Darc the emperour to Catulus censozius, that was sozowful foz the deth of his sonne Aerissimus.

The.biti. letter.

Arc cenfore newe and ponge, salute and reuerence to the Catulus censozius olde and aunciente. I have watten two letters to the, and thou haste made aunswere to none of theym.

If it be bycause thou couldest not, I holde my peace : If it be bycause thou woldest not, than I complayne me: If it be for forgetfulnes, than I accuse the : If it be breaule thou fettefte lyttelle by me, than I appeale the : If thou hafte dreamed, that thou hafte waytten, I fage beleue not in dreames: And if thou wylte not it fulbe bayle to glo= tyfpe me as a frende, pet thou mighteft take it write in ad. uertilinge a repreuynge as the father to the fon. Yong ber tuous perfons are bounde to honour auncient wife men, ano leffe old wrie men ought to endoctrine the rong peo= ple and bery ponge, as I am. A fustethpingett is, that the new forces of youth fupply a ferue them that are worne by age. for they longe experience mocketh our tenber age & natural ignozance. youth is plapplied, when it furmoteth the force of the body, a farlleth the vertues of the foule: & age is honozed, wherin the force dreth outwarde, wherby bertues quickneth the moze inward. we may fe the tre whe the fruite is gabered the leues fal, and when flowers dry,

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than more grene and perfyte are the rotes. I meane that whan the first selon of youth is palled, whiche is the So: mer tyme, than cometh aege called wynter, and putrifieth the fruite of the flethe, and the leaves of favour falle, and the floures of belyte are bydbered, a the bynes of hope bried outwarde, than it is right, that moche better the ros tes of good workes within be good. They that be old and auncient ought to paple their good werkes rather than their white heares. for honour ought to be gruen for the good lyfe, and not for the whyte heade. Gloryous is that common welthe, and fortunate is that prince, that is lord of yonge men to trauaple, and ancient persons to concell. As to regard the fulleyning of the naturalitie of the life, in lykewise ought to be confedered the polycie of gouer: naunce, the whiche is that al the fruites come noz Dzie not al at ones, but whan one beginneth an other fayleth. And in this maner pe that be auncient teachinge bs, and we obedient, as olde fathers and ponge pullettes, beinge in the nefte of the fenate : Of fome their fethers fallyng, and other yonge fethered : and where as the olde fathers can not five, their trauaples are mayntepned by their tender chylozen. frende Catulus, I purpoled not to write one Innethis yere, bycaufe my penne was troubled with thy flouthe: but the smallenelle of my spirite, and the greate perpl of myn offices always called on me to demande thy counfell. This privilege the olde wife men holde in their houses where they dwelle: They are alwayes lordes ouer them that be fymple, and are sclaues to them that be wyle. I thynke thou hafte forgotten me, thinkpinge that fythe the Dethe of my Dere fonne Weriffimus, the tyme hath ben To longe, that I Chulbe forgette it. Thou halt occasion to thynke fo, for many thynges renneth in tyme, that reason can not helpe. But in this case I can not tel whiche is the areatelt

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bat of th me that the So: itrifieth ille, and of hope rthe ro= old and er than n foz the s is that tis lord concell. the life, f gouet: Dzie not eth.And and we einge in ng, and jers can r tender zite one with thy e areate inde thy in their des ouet be tople. at lythe hath ben alion to it reason be is the

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gratteft, thy trumperie of my bolour. I (weare to the by the goddis immortall, that the hungry wormes in the entravles of the buhappy chyloe, are not fo putfant, as are the cruell bolours in the barte of the father fore wounded. And it is no comparison, for the son is beed but one tyme, as heur father dieth euery moment. What wilt thou moze that I fhulde fay! but that one ought to have enuy of his beth, a compassió of mp lyfe, bicause in Dienge be liueth. & in lyuinge Tope. In pl fortunes in cafe of lyfe, a in & fubtol aduerlites of fortune, where as her aples profiteth but lyttell, and her ftrength leffe, I thinke the befte remedye is to fele it as a man, and diffimule it as discrete and wife. If alle thinges as they be felte at harte fulde be fewed outwarde with the tonge, I thinke that the wyndes fould breake the harte with lighinges, and water alle the erthe with weppinge. Dif the corporall eies fawe the hurte of phart with a true woud I fwere to the, there they fould fe moze of a droppe of bloudde (weatinge within, thanne all the wepynge that is made outwarde. There is no compatylon of the great bolours of the bodye, to the leeft pepne that the spirite feleth. for all tranaple of the body, menne maye fynde some remedy, but if the beuy hart speake, it is not harde: if it wepe, it is not fene: if it complayne, bit is not beleued. What shall the pooze harte do? Abhorre the lyfe, wher with it Dieth: a Defire Deth, wher with it lyueth . The high bertues amonge noble bertuous people confr= fethe not al only to suffre the passions of the body, but al= fo to diffimule them of the fowle. They be fuche that alter the humours, and shewe hit not outwarde: They bringe afeuer withoute alterringe the poulce: They alter the flomake: They make by to knele to the erthe, to fuffer the water by to the mouth, a to take death with out leaurnge of the lyfe: And fynally they lengthe our lyfe, to thentente Ti.iii. that

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that we shulde have the moze trauapile, and benyethe bs our sepulture, to thentente that we bulbe not rest bs. But consideringe, if I be troubled with tribulations, as well am I lette with cololations. for euer I haue eyther Delyze of the one, or wervnes of the other. Ttake this remedye to diffimule with the tongue, and to wepe with the cies, and to fele it with my harte. I paffe my lpfe, as be that hopethe to lese all that he hathe, and neuer to recohe that hopethe to lese all that he hathe, and never to recourer that is lost: I say this, though ye se me not now make funerall weppinges and waylynges, as I dyd at the deth so of my fonne, yet thynke not but it both beenne my harte, fo that with the inwarde greatte heate is consumed the humpoitie of the cies outwarde, for it brennethe all mp fpp: rites inwarde. Thou mapfte knowe what an honourable father fuffrethe to lefe a good choloe: In all thonges the goddes be lyberall, ercepte in gyuynge bs bertuous chylozen : Where there is aboundaunce of great effates, there is greatteft scarsitie of good inheritours . great burte to bere, and greatter to fee, bow thefe fathers clyme to have ryches, and to fee their chylozen difcende to haue bycpoulenes: To fee the fathers honour they? chyl: Dien, and the chyloren to infame their fathers, pea and the fathers to anue reft to their chylozen, and the children to apue trouble to their olde fathers, yea and sometymi bis the faders ove for lozowe that they chylozen ove lo foone, hau and we fe the chylozen were bycaufe theyr fathers ope foo late. What fulde I fare moze, but that the honour and the tyches that the fathers have procured with gret thought, the chylozen lofe with lyttell care. Jam certagne of one bie thynge, that the fathers may gather tyches with ftrength and crafte, to fuftepne they; chylogen, but the goddes will wha not have burable that that is begon with eupli intention, to a and is founded to the pretudice of other, and is poffeffed tis mith

wethe bs ft bs. ations, as ue evther take this pepe with p lpfe, as er to reco: now make t the Deth p harte, fo o the hu il mp (pp: honouta-II thonges bertuous at eftates, Ttis a ele fathers hepz chyl:

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with an eurl herre. Ind though the heur bestenres of the faber permit, that the riches be left to their childre to ferue them in all their bices for thepr pattyme, at last according to their merytes, the goddes wyl that the hepre a heretage fulde perpite. Darke what I fape, I had two fonnes, Comode a the prince Meriffimus, the ponger is beed, that mas greateft in bertue. Alway I imagined, that while the good liued, I fhuld be pooze: a nowe that p pl remaineth, I thinke to be tyche. I thall thew the why, the goddes are fo pyteful, that to a pooze father they neuer give pl chilo: ? to a riche father they neuer give a good child. Ind as in al prosperite al way there falleth some finefter fortune, erther foone or late, fo ther with fortune both arme apparel bg. wherin the feeth we fhal fal to our gretteft burt. Ind therfore the goodes permit, that the couctous faders in gade= rynge with great trauaple fould die with that burt to leue their riches to their bicious childre pll implied. I wepe as moch for my chylo y the goddes haue le ft me. as for him & they have taken fro me. for the fmall efteme of hym that discende to liucth maketh immogtall memogy of him & is deed. The pl reft a couerfacio of them that live, caufe be to fyghe for the s, pea and company of them that be beed . The yll is alwaye defpred he childien for his ilnes to be beed, a the good alway meriteth to haue fometyme his beth bewayled. I fap mp frend Catulus, I thought to pe fo foone, haue loft my wit, wha I fame my fon Meriffime die: but I ers bye foo toke comfort aven: for eyther he of me, or I of hym muft fe onour and the ende. Colideringe of the goddes did but lend him to me t thought, agane him not, a how they be inheriters, a I to have the pne of one ble of the fruit. For al thing is melured by the tuft wil of th strength goddes, a not by our disordinate wils appetites. I think goddes will whan they toke away from me my childe, I restored him intention, to an other, and not that they have taken myne. But fith is possessed tis the well of the goddes to grue rest to the good childe, and

and hurte the father bycaufe he is vil, Trelde thankes to them: for the fealone that they have fuffred me to enjoye his lyfe: And for the pacience that I have take for his dethe. I defree them to inptigate ther with the chaftifemente of their pre. And Toefpre, fythe they have taken awaye the lyfe fro this chylbe, to cause good customes to be in the paynce myn other fonne. I knowe what heupneffe thou haft take in Kome for my forowe. I prape to the god: bes to fende the toy, of thy chylozen, a that I may reward the with some tope, for that thou hafte wept for my pepne. AD wyfe faultyne faluteth the : and thou woldelte haue copaffion to fe her: for the wepeth with her eyes, a fraheth with her harte, and with her handes hurteth her felfe, and curfeth with her tonge. She eateth nothunge on the Dave, no; flepeth in the nyghte. She loueth berkenes, and abhorreth lyaht, and therof I have no meruaple : for this reasone, that for that was nourished in her entrayles, the Quide fele forowe in the fame. And the love of the mother ts foo ftronge thoughe her chylde be deed and lapbe in le: pulture, pet alwayes the bath bym guycke in her herte. It is a general rule, that the person that is enterly beloued, caufeth euer great grefe at the beth. And as for me I palle the lyfe ryghte forowfully: thoughe I thewe a toyful face. pet I want myath at my harte. Ind amonge wple men be pinge fozowfull, and hewpinge thep; faces merp, is none other thonge but burienge the gupcke haupnge no fepulture. And I (weare by the goddes immortal I fele moche moze than I have fard. And druers tomes me thouse 3 Chulo fal downe, bycaule I date not wepe with myn eies, pet I fele it inwardely . I wolde fanne compn with the in Dyuers thynges. Come I prape the to Brette, to thetent that we mave speake together. And sothe it hathe pleased the goodes to take my chylo fro me, that I loued fo well,

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I wolde councell with the that arte my louving frend. But fewe baves palled there came byther an amballabour fro the Robes, to whome I caue the moofte parte of my hors les: a fro the forthelt part of Spayne there were brought me.biti. of whiche I lende the. titi. I wolde thep were luthe as myghte pleafe the. The goddes be thy fafegarde, and fende me and my wyfe fome tore . Marcus Aurelius right forowfull bath writen this with his owne hande.

> T a letter lente by Barcthe emperour to Marcurino being at Sannve now called Benauente. The. ir. letter.

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ed to well,

Y specialle frende and auncrente companion, a meffager of thone, aa lackep of mone wente out to gether at Capue, the one bare my belyze and affection to the, and the other broughte a letter to me. And if thou loke well, thou mapfte femp harte as full of thoughtes, as I fe

thy letter full of complayntes. Thou bolt fend to coumfort me in my feuer tercyan, I thanke the greately therof, and hit is come in a good fealon. for the gopnge of the feuer out of my poulle, and the tope of thy letter to my fpirite is all one. And furelye if this cafe be lefte in my hande, and that my feuer retourne not, than thy confolatio chal ferue. Lo beholde the mefery of man, that prefumethe to take a way realmes from other, a pet can not take the feuer oute of my bones. Thou knowest well, that we love togeber, and of a longe feafon thyne amyte hath trufted in me. ADy , to thetent trouthe byndethe me, that thyne ylles houlde be myne, and my goodes thone. And there is trewe love, where be k.k two

two bodyes feperate, a but one harte together . And there is but a bytter loue, where the hartes be as ferre afonder, as the ftraungenes of they perfones. Take hebe I praye the, that our love be not invenimed with bukyndes, no; our remembraunce enpoysoned with smalle thoughtes, and I being an other then thou arte here, a thou being a= nother than I am there in maner that myne ablence with thy prefence, a my prefence with thy absence may speke to gether. Thy meffager bath thewed me the loffe of thy goodes, and by thy letter I knowe the anauyffhe of thy per-Conne. And it hath ben thewed me, that thou hafte habbe a flyppe peryficd, and that thy factours lyke wyle men, to faue they? personnes bybbe throwe thy marchandise in to the fee . De thynke thy fhyppe hathe cafed the of thy charge. But I thynke, as it femeth by the, they threw not To many fardels in to the fee, as thoughtis into thy harte. And accordynge as thou were before, I houlde be more bounde to ferche for thy leade and tynne, thanne for thy harte. Thy leade is fonken to the bottume, but thy counfelle is fprede abrode ouer all the worlde . If thou Chuls deste nowe bye, and thy bodye be opened, of trouthe I thynke, that thy hart fould be rather found Drowned with thy leade, than alvue with thy bodye. D Dercurius, at this houre thou felefte no malady of any feuer tercian, as Too, for the harte of thy bodye, and the bolour of thy Spirite causeth the to have a quartapne. And this euplis not in the body, but in the Chyppe, nat on the erthe, but in the fee: Aot with philicions, but philosophers. I councel the to feke helth : for there thy lyfe is browned where thy leade is fonken . Be not angere, for thoughe thou halte not thy lead with the, thy lead hath the with it. Dfte times auarice feketh out the auaricyous, and fomtyme the auas ricious feke quarice . It is thewed me, thou arte for, bp caule

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caule

caufe thy domage can have no remedye: a doeft thou not know, that where no remedy is thou oughteft to take pa= cience & D Dercurius, nowe thou knowell, o whan thou biddefte aduenture the goodes to the fuspecious rockes, and the defrees to the depe wawes of the fee, and the coutagious auarice to the importunate byndes, a thy leed to fraunge waters, and as toyous and defirous as thy factours went forth in trufte of wynninge, as moche nowe thou arte fure of the loffe: and thus is the defire drowned. and thy hope fcaped. Doeft thou not remembre, that So= crates castinge in to the see not leade but golde, not a lp= tell, but a great deale, not goodes of other mennes, but of his owne, not by fortune, but by his wyledome, fayinge, I will drowne thefe aplefull richeffes, to thentente that they chall not drowne me: but I thinke if a man Coulde fee the Do foo, be foulde here the fave : D my fwete ry . cheffes. I had rather drowne mp felfe than other Choulde diowne pour This aunciente wife man durfte not trufte in golde, and thou wilte trufte on leade : cafte lottes a= monge pour goddis, he of Athenes and thou of Rome, Whiche of you hathe most failed, oz elles is most affured? he that cafte his golde from the erthe into the fee, or thou that woldest barnae thy leade out of the fee bron the erthe I knowe that the aunciente Romanns wil far it is he, and the present couetous folke will save, it is thy felfe, and 3 thinke in this thou art dispraised in the prapse therof, & p dispailed is alowed of all men. The messager told me, & thou were righte forie and heup, a crieft out in the night, callinge on the goddis, a wakelt the neighbours, coplainyng on fortune. I am fore displeased for thy heuines, bi= caule forow is nexte frende to thy folitarines, a enmie to copany, a heire of desperation. I am fogy fog thy crienges in the night: foz it induleth foly. foz the nighte coueringe BB.II. ail

alle the worlde with berknes, thou alone wolte discouet thy hart with crienges. I am not plefed, that thou callefte bpon the goddes, bycaule they have taken fome thyng fro the:bycaule thou were aloft, they baue brought the lower: Aog Jam not pleafed, that thou awakeft thy neighbours for thy ryches that caused them to enuve the, thy pacience thuld moue them to copassion. Roz 7 am not cotent, that thou fhulbelt fo complayn on fortune, for the thyng fo wel knowen of many, Quide not be infamed by one alone. D Dercurius remebre, & with the with whom truce is take, thou welt entre agaph in to the feld of defiace. we bubed a thou wylt fpend thy fperes. Thou never camelt into the felde, and yet thou woldefte enion the triumphe. Al be ftop ped, a thou woldelt paffe furely. Thou peldeft thy felfe to fortune: and doeft thou not knowe, how the beteth down the high walles, and defendethe the olde roten houses, 4 peopleth where there lacketh people, a bupeopleth where as people be? Df enmpes the maketh frendes, and of fre des enmyes, and dispoileth the banquishers, & crowneth them that be ouercome. Of traytours the makethe trebe men, and trewe men the maketh fuspecte personnes . And fynally fortune is luche a mayltrelle, that the rulethe realmes, ouercommeth armes, beateth bowne kynges, eralteth trauntes, to the deed queth life, and to fomme renoume, and to somme hame. Why flyckest thou to her ? Doeft thou not remembre the worde that the kynge of the Lacedemoniens hadde at his gate, lavenge, This is the boule of the puttyinge downe of fortune . In good foothe thefe were hyghe wordes and of greatte biderfandrige, he knewe fortune moche better than thou, lith he rekeneth his house at fortunes dispositions, and not for enheritace, and if he habbe lofte any thyinge, as thou hafte boone, he thoughte that the restored it to other as theres, and hab

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not takenhis . Reason holdethe confidence to argue the treason by that the Deposeth the fro thy beyonte to be an beriter : for he that lyueth heryteth Deathe, and not Death the lyfe, for all byeth, and it heryteth al in they life. will thou take bengeance of that bath given the fo moch pein! Therfore take this councel : be frende to fortunes enmy, the whiche is the grane: Duct them that be bome, a not ouer them that breth is her empyre. D howe many great loides have ben the thoughtes of thy harte, foo as many wormes halbe in then entraples what greatter bictory mare be, than the that ouercomethe al lyuers, thalbe banaughed of the all onely by bethe. I fay one thinge to the, that all onely he that is closed in his grave, is affured of all thynges of this lyfe. Thy messager shewed me, that this fommer thou woldelt come to Rome, and nowe that hit is wynter, thou wylte fayle in to Alexandine. frende Dercurio, whan thy lyfe draweth to an ende, thou begynnest to be auaritious. Thou halt fynde two cities in this worlde in two extremptes, Rome the beed of bice, and Alexaundry the ende of all bertues. I far of thy merchaundyle, in Rome thou doofte charge thy bodye with bices, and in Alexandrys thy harte with thoughtes . A lwere by the othe of a tuft man, that thou falt have moze delyze of that thou leauest, then contentation of that thou bearest away . Thou remembreste not, howe it is wruter, and thou muste passe the see, and but if the priotes lee to me, the calme feafon moofte fure is the brail of the more bufortune. Thou wolt fave, thy thyppes be borde, a ther= fore they hall goo more furely, Abeleue they hall goo more charged with auarice, that thep thal come with filke. D what a good chaunge shall it be, if the auarice of Italy myghte be chaunged for spike of Alexandey . I knowe fucely they; fylke well lade a thyppe, and our avarice will EB . tit. labe

lave a hole flete. Great is that couetyle, whichethe thame of the worlde doothe not repreue, nor the feare of beathe Stoppe, no; reason appopnt. I say it, bycause that he whiche in suche a tyme offreth hym selfe to perpl, eyther coues tple lurmountethe hym, ozelles bnberftandpinge faplethe hpm. And bycaule I can fynde none other excule fufficiet to excuse me to the, but that thou arte as moche knowen by the fee, as buknowen to the goddis, that is the buffable wawes knoweth the wicked harte and bnreftfull, and the harde rockes buruly men: and one wond knoweth an other wynde. I praye the thewe me, what thou wylte goo ferche? Wylt thou go in to the gulfe of Arpino for to feke thy leade: Than take hede and thynke how the fythe bath eaten thy hard lead, and let them not eate thy fofte flefte. Thou wylte peraduenture go leke thy goodes with peryl of thy lyfe, and to leave renowme at thy Deathe. knowed thou not, that luche renowme is a falue for a rewme, a baume for a swownig, lyaht to a blynd person, a nyahtingale to the deafe ! I will discouer the enbushmente, et thou falle therin. Thou fekelt thought for thy felfe, enupe for thy negabours, spurces for then enemies, wakpnge for theues, perpl for thy body, damnation for thy renome, the endpinge of thy life, flyahte for thy frendes, processe for thy chyloren, and curlinge for thyn heires . And bycault the feuer halteth towarde me, I leaue mp penne to witte any moze. Dy wife faultine falutethe the, and is foor displeased for thy losse. I sende the a provision, to the entent that a thippe maye be given the, bycause thou thul-Deft not lofe thy witte. If thou be in Alexandrie, returne not by Khodes, leeft the Prates take the. The goddis be thy faufgarde, and to me and other to apue good lyfe, and good name with ftraungers.

A letter

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The tenth letter.

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dlyfe, and

Arke pretout Romaine Edile Tensozine, cospanyon of the empire, to the Antigonus bas nyshed sendeth gretynge to thy parte, a good hope of the senate. I beinge in Champayne, thy heur case was shewed me, at this houre

thy heur case was shewed me, a at this houre in the temple of Jupiter was thy pitifull letter delivered to me. I fele as moche as thou feleft, and am hurte with as many woundes: as thou arte leparate fro nerghbours of thyne, in lyke wife I am banifhed fro my wittes, and wepe at this houre for the, as thou in my trauailes haffe wepte for me : and I fele for the, as thou hafte felte for me . forto frendes afflicted with forome, we oughte to grue remedy to their persons, and consolation and com= passion to their hertes. I swere to the by the lawe of good menne, in this cafe I have not ben bucourteis of ancient time, noz cruell at this tyme to fele it. As I redde the ly= nes of thy letter, I coude not holde my handes from Ma= bynge, no; my berte from lighinge, no; myne eien fro we= pinge, to fe the fmall thing that thou fendeft to bemande, and moche moze for lacke of power to fende to the . The grettefte infortune of all infortunes, is whan a man maye bo lytle, and wolde do moche. And the greattefte fortune of all fortunes is, whan a man mare do moche, and well doo but lytle. In this I wyll fe if thou hafte forgoten our amitie, and aduentureft at one tyme, that I have truffed in the biuers times. Thou knowelle well, that the yonge days in my youth al thinges were discharged fro thy hert, and charged they m to thin binderstondinge. Than it is a infe thyng that thy traveples shuld be discharged fro thy mpil

A letter

well and charged boon my harte. And in this maner thou and other (hall fee and bere, that my handes fhalbe as reby to remedy the, as my teeres of wenynge are for thy bamage. Robe come to the reft of eupl fortune. Thou ava ueft me knowlege, that the goddes haue taken a doughter fro the: And the monftrous erthequake hath throwon bowne thy house, and the senate bath avuen a sentence agevnfte the, wherby thy goodes are lofte, and thy persone banyfed. The goddes be to me as propyce and meke, as they have ben cruelle to the . I am fooze abaffbed of that my spirite bath concepued in this, as of the lose, that thou a thy wyfe have felt, yet am I not abaffhed of the monfire that fearethe the people, not of the trymblynge that bathe Chaken Downe thy houses, not of the fret that hath brente the goodes, not of the goddes that have permytted fuche thynges to falle: But I am abalbed, that there is fo moche malyce in the and in thy nevabbours : for the whiche justely pe do beferue to haue so horryble and cruelle cha-Apfementes: Beleue me in one thonge Antogonus, and Doubte it not, if men lyued lyke men, and chaunged not the rule of conditours, the goddes wolde then be always as goddis, not to cause bs to be borne of our mothers to apue bs fo cruel chaftifemetes by the hande of monftrous beaftes. Certapnely it is tufte and mofte jufte, that brute beaftes be chaftpled by other brute beaftes, and the monfterous by other monfterouse beaftes: and suche as offend with greate fautes, to be puny hed with greate paynes. I fay to the one thynge, the whiche femeth a newe thynge to the, and that is, the eurli personne offendethe moze by infamy, than the goddes grue theym payne for it, rather than for the offence that is comptted agent them, as the goddes naturally be pitiefull, and alwaye have the name therof, to we are alwayes cuyll, and our evelnes & Chamefull

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aner thou ibe as res for thy ba: Thou are a bough: throwon. entence a: no persone meke, as ed of that that thou e monstre that bathe ath brente tted fuche is fo mobe whiche uelle chas nus, and maed not e always others to nonstrous that brute the monasoffend paynes. we thrnge e moze by it, rather m, as the the name

a Chaine-

ful werkes beferue to baue fore chaftifement. The fymple folkes call the goddes cruel, in that they fe they; chaftifes ment openly, and for they fe not our fecrete pinelle. Chan the goddes have reason to complayn, bicause me with our formes offend them a they by our cruelnes are infamed. In ineffable rule it is, that the pitiful goddis doo not pu= nothe extremely with extreme chaftifementes , fothe that firfte the bicious men do extremely with extreme byces. The tyme that Camillus was banifibed Capue and that the frenche men pollelled Rome, Lucius Clarus confule was fent by the fenate to the oracle of Apollo, to Demande counfel, what the Romanne people fould bo to be belpue= red out of their areat perplie. And there this confule was rl. bares within the temple on his knees befoze Appollo. offerpinge right ftraunge facrifices, and fbebde many teates with weppinge, and pet be coude have none anf were : and fo with no fmal inconveniences he returnid to Rome. Than the holy fenat fent out of every temple two preftis. and whan they were proftrate on the erthe, Apollo fappe: Is one bearnninge is correspondente to an other bearn= urnae, and one place to an other. Deruaple thou not. though by the reason of an extreme Demaunde. I hebed inp felfe extreme to answere. Ye Romannes fithe ve favle men, ye come to feke to the goddis, for the occasion wherof we wyl arue you no good coularle whan re have nede. not permytte that men thulbe fauour you whan ve goo to lebe for them. Regarde mp frendes, not for the facrifices. that ye have offred to me, but for the amptie, that I have had with your fathers in tyme palt, I wil discouer to you a secrete, the whiche is, that ye shall say to the Romannes fro me. bit, thynges. The fyrite is, lette neuer man leaue the goddis for an other man, for feare that the goddes De= part fro the myferable man in his motte greatteft neceffitic.

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tie. The.ii. is, that more anaplethe to holbe the partie of one of the goddis immortall, that is in heuen, than with all the mostall men in the worlde. The.ui. is, that menne bulbe beware to anove the goddes, for the pre of the goddes both more domage than the iniquitie of all men. The ini.is, the goddes neuer forgette a man at any tome, but if the goddes be forgotten by men a . 99. tymes . The. b. is, that the goddes do fuffre that one thall be perfecuted by an other that is pile, or they have furthe perfecuted one that is good. And therfore ye are ftryke with the feates of the frenche men: bicaufe pe haue perfecuted and banyfhed Camillus pour naturalle nevabbour. The. bi.is, if the men wel have the goddes favorable in the tyme of watre. they mufte ferue them fyafte in tyme of peace. The, bil.is that the pitiefull goddes sendeth not to any realme some extreme chastelement, but uf it be for some extreme offences commetted in the fame realme. Ind thethe to the Se nate, that I wold make none answere to Lucius Clarus, bycaufe they fent fo yll a man to their god Apollo as ambaffabur, the whiche they ought not to haue Done. Ye Bomanns take this counsell of me, and if pe fynde it pl. take no more of me. In a ftraunge meffage fende alwayes the most eloquent men, a in pour senate sette the wpfest men: And commytte your hoftes to baliant capitarns : and to your goddes lende alway the most innocent men. The tult goddes neuer appeale their tres ageinfte britif me: but if the requirers be bery uniocent and meke. for a fowle beffell is not made cleane but with fapre water. for with foule handes it is hard to make the bellel clene. The god dis be fo iuft, that they wyl not aque will thonges but by hades of tult me. finally Tlap, if pe wpl drive the french men pour ennemies out of pour landes freft cafte out the pallios fro your hartes. Thynke for trouth, that the gods

bis woll never brive your ennemies out of Italy, toll Cas

partie of an with at menne the god= ien. The ome, but The. b. erfecuted cuted one feates of banythed i.is, if the of watte, be. bii.is Ime Come me offens o the Se Clarus, o as ame. Ye Bo: it pl.take vapes the fest men: s:and to The tuft ft me: but a fowle for with The god es but by the french Ate out the t the gods

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myllus wall the avitleffe that be banyfhed be retourned a gepn to Rome. Certapnip the cruell warres that the gobbis permytte at this tyme presente, is but a warninge of the chastifementes for offences paffed. for that the pl men baue done to the inocetes in divers days, after by b hades of other that be pl, the payment is made in one bap. This answere Apollo made to the priestes flammes, that were fent to hom out of Rome, whiche thing made the fenate fore abafbed. I remembre that in the boke of the aunfwere of the goddis, in the annalcs of the capitol there founde it: the whiche boke the first day of euery monethe was red by a fenatour, before alle the other fenatours of the lenat. Therfore frende Intigonus, as the god Apollo lapde, if thou welt not beleue me, that am the frende, beleue the god Avollo. D Antigon behold how binderflabing of bayn men are but beltly to the spirites of the godbis, whiche are fecret a bid : and where as thep fpeke, all other ought to be ftylle. foz one counfell of the goddis is moze worth in mockerie, than al the coulels of me though they be never fo true. Of when thinkelte thou that this cometh ! I that thewe the : The goddis are fo perfote in all bountie, & fo wife in al wiscome, and we are sooyll in all malpce, & fo fimple in all symplenes, that though thep bolde erre, they can not bicaufe they be goddis: and we b bolde be affured, erre, breaufe we be men. And herin I fe what a brute beaft man is: for all thefe mortali men are fo

entier in their owne wylles, that they wyll lofe moze in fo-

lowping their owne opinion, than wrine by the counsel of

an other manne: and the worfte of all is, that they take

fuche a brtte in boinge pll, that there is no bribell that can

tefrepne them. And thep are fo flowe to bo wel, that there

is no pricke nor spource that can moue theym forwarde. Alit. Thou

Thou doest complayne of the pitiefull goddis, and of the sacrate senate. Also thou complayned of topfulle fortune. The thinges there be, that one of them is inoughe with one stroke of a stone, to take away thy lyfe, and bury thy renounc. And whan eche of them hath drawen the apart, than all together wylle stryke on the with stones. Thou haste taken greatte compeditours, and yet I knowe not what thy worthynes is. I shall shewe the some strengthes and balpantes that the auncient barons had, and therby thou shalte se, what they of this worlde dothe holde.

The felawe of Scipio Malica toke a lerpente in the mountayns of Egipt, whiche after it was layne, flaged, and the lkynne melured in the felde of Mars, it was. bi. score fore of length. Hercules of Thebes proued his fore with the serpente Hydra. And in strykynge of one of his

beedes, there fpange out . bii. other heades.

Applon the graunt to execute his strengthe was accukomed every day to overtake a bull with rennyng a fote, and caste hym downe, a he made manye courses with the bulle, as it were an other naked yonge man: and yet, that was more meruayle, he with one stroke of his fyste stewe the bulle, and the same day wolde eate hym all together.

On mount Dlympe Cerastus the giaunt of the nacion of Grece, wasseled with mo than. I. D. men, and none coude styre nor shake him. And is Homere begileth be not of this graunt, he was of suche fame and bedes, that e very foure yeres, there was a custome, that all nations of the worlde went to wrastle at mount Olympe. And there came the rekenynge of the Olympiades.

In the lecode warre punike amog the captives of lorowe of. if full Carthage, Scipio brought a ma, a lorde of Mauri not tayne ryght firong and fierle to behold and in celebrating belt a spectacle in the palayes of Rome, whiche was than of they

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was accuna a fote, s with the no vet, that fpfte ffeme together. the nacion and none

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great renoume, there were innumerable beaftes ronne ats This captine prisoner lept into the parke, and hylled two beares, and wraftled with a Iron a great whyle: fynallye beinge foze hurte with the lyons pawes, he ftrangled the Ivon with his handes. This was a monftrous thrnge to fe, and nowe it femeth incredyble to be beleued.

In the pere. CCCCrr. of the foundation of Rome, Cutio Lebent a renoumed capitapne, commpnge fro Tarent agapuft Prico kynge of the Epirotes : he was the firfte b bought. titt. Dipphates to Rome the day of his triumph. Stages and places were mabe for. rrr. M. men to fe the compage of these Dlyphauntes : and in the myddes of the paftyme, the plankes brake, a flewe mo than . b . 99 . perfones. Ind amonge them there was Aumatian, the whiche bare boon his chulders a planke with mo thanne iii. C. men, tol that he and they were fuccoured.

Capus Cefar beinge ponge, fleinge the companye of Splla, breaule be was perterninge to Marius, be being amonge the Rodiens wan his meate with courling a run= nynge of horfes, with his bondes bounde behyng hym. It was a monftruous thinge to fe, as the annales wytneffe: howe he wolde guyde the horfes with his tinees foo fafte. as thoughe he had drawen them with the revnes of their budelleg.

eth be not In the rb. pere that the capitagne of Cartagenes enes, that e tred into Italy, our auncient fathers fente to the realme nations of of frigie for the dreffe Bereconthia, mother of the god= and theref dis: and whan the arroued at the porte Hoftie, the thoppe that the came in, ranne bypon the fande, and by the space of forome of. iii. dapes . rrr. 99. men, that came in the army, coude A Daury not remoue it: by chaunce came thither one of the birgins elebrating bestales named Kea, whiche with her grabelle treb to the as than of hyppe, dewe it to the lande as ealily as the wolde have Diawen

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Diamen's threde from the distaffe: Ind to the intent that we foulde beleue luche thinges, as we here were done in times paft, we may knowe it by dedes done prefetly in our bays. I remembre whan my lord Morian came fro Dacie, be byode celebrate a spectacle in Rome, wherin there was mo than. ii. 99. wylde beltis. And the thing moft notable \$ we have fene, there was a knyght bome by the river Danubio, who toke a hors, a canne into the parke, and flewe fo many wylde beftes, that there fledde fro him lyons, leopardes, beares, olyphantes, and we dod fle fro them: and he flewe mo of them than they byd of men . Thefe ftrange thinges I have recrted to the, that of all thefe I am not To abalbed as 7 am of the, to fe the rebre to Doo armes ageinst the goddis, and against the senate, and ageinst for tune. Thefe the are grauntes in bertuous balyauntile, and happy at al tymes: and they be fuche as commaunde them that commande other. The goddis by their naturas lpte and power close by the furies, and gouerne the flets ces: And the lenate with their Jultyce ouercomethe realmes, and subdueth tyrantes: and fortune with her tirany taketh them that they leave, and leavethe them that they take: and honoureth them that they diffonour, and cha-Apfeth them that ferue ber: the bearleth euery perfon, and no person bearleth her: the prompseth moche, and fulfple teth nothynge: her fonge is weppng, and her wepinges is fonge, to them that be beed amonge wormes, and to them that lyue in fortunes: at them that be prefent (be fournet) with her fete, and threateth them that be abfente. Bli wpfe men hinke fro her, but thou lyke a fole heweste her thy face. Df one thonge Tam abathed of the, to complante of the fenate, and pet I meruaple not: for in conclusion they be but me: per of trouthe in thinges of Juftice they ought to be more than men. And to complayn on fortune, I met uaple

ent that bone in p in out Dacie, ere was otable uer Dano flewe ons,leo= em: and e ftrange am not armes areinst for pauntile. nmaunde r natura: the fters ethe realer tirany that they and chaerion, and no fulfpl pingesis nd to them e fourneth e. Bil wple te her thy nplayneof ulion they they ought une, I met

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navle not a lottel : for in the end fortune is fortune amoge mortalle men. Ind all the heuens is of an auncient quarelle, and whan we are befette with moofte greatteft quarelles, than the Arpketh be with molt greuous burtes. T baue great wonder, that thou being a Romain, coplainel on the goddes, as if thou were one of the barbartens. me Komarns are not fo moche renoumed among al nations for the multitube of realmes that we have overcome . as me are for the greate churches and feruices that we have made. Thou complaynet, howe the gobbes haue broken the houses with an erthquake, and haue flaine the bouch ter felowe in thy banpfhemente, and all in one baye: But thou boft not remembre the offences that thou haft comits ted in druets cales. Omp frende Antigon, thou knowest not, out of our vil procelles cometh forth good fenteces: and thou knowell not, our wicked workes are but a was king of true Juftice : knowefte thou not, o the fierfe chafilementis is but a preffe that hafteth the great cominges of your ponge defires ? and knowell thou not that it is no thrnge that the goddes do chaffife openly, to that they bo biffimule in fecrete! Doft thou not knowe, that in conclufion the goddes be goddes, a the mortalles are mortalles, and they may bo be more good in one bay, than be can bo feruice in a. C.AB. pete ! Doeft thou not knowe, that the leafte plle bone by the handes of the pittefulle gobbes, is more goodnes than al the welth o may come by the habis of the cruel men! Tha wherof bolt thou complain! I prap the be ftyl. And fith thou art amonge ftragers, fuffre. And thou wilte haue bonour, bilhonour not the goodts of the Komapns. for the bniuft me bo gret iniuftyce to fpeke pll of them that be fult, a specially of the goodis, for they are moft fuft. Certainly as Cicero fapth, the greateft faut in a man that is good, is to approue the pl rather that good: and the

and the mofte greattest eupli in an pl man is to condemne the good for the pl. Thou knowest not how juste the goddis be. Of trouthe they chaunge not for any prayer, nor leave not for any thretenynges, nor mocke not by wordes: nor be not corrupt with gyftes . Great ought thyn offence to be, lith the erthe hath taken bengeance for the goddes: and thy innocente doughter hath paybe the faute, for the offence of her father. D Intigonus, boft thou not knowe, that in al thrnges the goddes may werke after their own opinion and wille, excepte in Justice : for in that they be goddes of al, they oughte to be egal to all ? And if they; bountie both bynde them to rewarde bs for goodnes, 1100 leffe their iuftpce conftrapneth them to chaftife be foz out plies . It is a greatte cultome, and a ryghtoufe Juffree, De that wellyngely braweth to frame, against his wel is brawen to pepne. I fap it bycaufe thy boughter hath left to bo fome good openly, ozelles the hath Done fome fectet plle, lithe in her pouth her lyfe is bereued from her father for ensample of chastisement in other. And in the ende of thy letter thou complaynest, that the peyne that men doo to the, is more greatter than the offences that thou halte Done to the goddis. And if it be thus frende Antygone, thou oughteft to have no displeasure, but pleasure, no heupnes but tope. And I (were to the by the immortall god: des, I wolde gladly chaunge my lybertie for thy captultie, and the flate of Rome for thy banyfhement of Speile. And I chall telle the why! De is honoured amonge them that be honoured, that fortune abateth without faute: and beis hamed amonge them that be fhamed, that fortunt inhanceth without merite. For the Chaine is in the inconmenientes that is done to be by men, but it is of the offen that we commette ageing the goddis. And in leke cafe the honourable honour resteth not in the dignities that we

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onbemme the gobaper, noz wordes: on offence goddes: e, for the ot knowe. their own at they be of they; Dncs, 1100 bg for our Jultpce, nis wel is t bath left ome lecret her father e ende of t men doo bou hafte Intraone, are, no heatall god: p captuif Speile. maethem faute:and at fortune the inconthe offect se case the s that we

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baue, but in the good workes, wherby we meryte. And therby the wordes seme trewe, that the . ri . emperour of Rome bare waiten in a rynge on his finger, whiche favbe thus : More is he to be honoured, that Deferueth honour, than he that hath it and beferueth it not. Thefe wordes are greatly to be noted, and spoken by a great loabe. Than retourne to the purpole. Thou complaynest of the wonges and greues that men do to men, and leue the goddis, I have no meruaple: for as the goddis do neuer briufte thynges, fo the menne neuerlyghtly do any thynge tufte. Aote this that I fap, and forgette it not . The fenate gp= ueth an open pepne, and publisheth the fecrete faulte, in fuche maner that with the perne they burte bs, and with the faute they hame bs. The goddes are moze pitiefull : for thoughe they give be pepn, vet they kepe the faut clofe. Imp frende Intigone, though the goddes gaber togiber the flouthe and wyckednes, that we commytte fecretelye, Beleue me and doubte not, the goddis apfe lyfe to manye the whiche men bereueth . Therfore I thinke, that thou hulbest thenke and welle, that foth the goddes have fuffred the plies that thou halt done fecretly, that thou mailt fuffre open chaftylement, that men haue gyuen to the. foz otherwife thynkinge to put away the pepue, thou fhalt a= byde charged with infamy. I have writen to the this loge epyfile, to thentent that thou shulbest have some thing to palle the tyme with . Certaynly the greattest easemente to eafe hom that is in trauaple, is to exercife the waveringe harte with some good occupations. I will write no more to the at this tyme, but as touchynge thy bany hemente, trufte me I hal bringe the at one with the senate. I sende Danutius my fectetarie to the grue as moche credence to his wordes, as to my letter. And he bringethe a gowne to the, and ther with my harte and wylle for to comforte the. Melle SaluSalutation, peace, and good age be with the: and the ite of the goddis and yll fortune be seperate frome. Marke, my household, wyfe, and chyldren salute the as thyn own. And we salute all the family as our owne. Thoughe the halfe of my letter be not of my hande, comforte the, for my harte is entirely thene. Thou knowest howe I was grewoully hurte in the warres of Dacye in my hande, and in mouste wethers one of my syngers slepeth. Thus I make an ende as always then owne.

Tan other letter fent by Marc themperour to the fame Antygonus ageynst cruell iuges.

The leventh letter.

Arc the sicke manne, to the Antigonus bangthed, descreth salute for hym, and reste for the. To eschewe the envious tranapiles of Kome, and to se certeyne bokes of Hebrewe that were broughte to me fro Helya, I came

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hother to Sanya: I made great hafte in my tournayes, howe be it at Salon the feuer toke me : and the.rr. day of Tune I recepued the feconde letter, and the fame houre the feuer quartapne toke me. I thynke none of bs bothe had the better hande. for neyther my longe letter bydde put away thy trauaple, northy (hort letter byd put away inv feuer. And though as nowe the felunge of thy travaile minisheth that I had the moze brenneth the Desire tores medy the. Therfoze I well fay fome thinge to the but not that I fynde any confolation that thou hafte nede therof. Anthe lawe of Rhodes I haue founde thefe wordes : we commaunde, that none be fo hardy to grue counfail with out remedy: for the wordes to him is in trouble queth fmall confolation, what here is no remedy. Alfo the herte that is in forow, bath moze relt Mewing his own greues, than

and the free. Aparke, then own. poughe the the, for my was green to and in us I make

to the

gonus bao refte for uariles of Debrewe a, I came ournaves. er. day of me houte bs bothe tter dydde put away p trauaile elire tores he, but not de therof. ordes: we nfail with le apueth o the herte m greues,

than

then herpinge the confolation of other. Thou fapelt in thy letter, that the cefures are right rigozous in that realme: and therfore all that nation bath vil wyl with the fenate. A beleue well they have good occasion therof: for deshonoured men make the ministers of Austice to be rigozous, and namely they of that yle. for there is an ancient prouerbe, that farth, lyahtly all thefe piles, are pl, and the Sicilies worlte of al. Row adays the pl are myghty in their pines, and the good with their bertues are kepte fo clofe, that if there be not some budell by justyce, the yell shuld possesse at the worlde, and the good fuld fynyfhe fhortly. But final= ly to confider how bnable we be born, a are enuironed with fo many plles, beinge fubiect to fo many miferies, I mers uaile not of the humanities that the humain people coms mitteth : but I am afhamed of the cruell Juftice that our Cenfures Do, not as Komapus, but as cruel trantes. De one thyng I am fore abathed, and greatly it troubleth my wrttes, seinge naturally a of right the Austice of the gods dis is good, and we offedynge them, and that have inflice but lent to be, yet we glozify be to be cruell: fo y the godbis do pardo iniuries done to them, whereby fame of meke nes abideth to them: and we challple the inuries of other, wherby we won the fame of tirantis. In good fothe there is no man among men, noz humayn amog the humayns, but he is as a brute beaft, a wylde amonge wylde beaftes, that nameth him felfe to be of the flethe, and bath no pitte to hurte other flethe: Aoz confidereth not, that the goddis bath made him a meke beaft a lowly by nature, a he becos meth a fiers ferpent by malyce. In the.rif. yere of the fous dation of Rome, Romulus the first kynge fent a comade= ment into all places a realmes npat to him: as to the Wolgues, Samites, & Ruffiens, to Capue, Carentis, & Alba= noys: to thentent that all fuch as were bany fed troubled Mm.tt. and

and perfected in their realmes, shulde come to Rome, a there they shulde be recepted and well entreated: and excepte the histories lye, Kome was more inhabyted in ten yeres, than Babylon or Cartage in a. C. yeres. D glorious hert of Romulus, that suche a thynge invented: and glorious tongue, that suche a thynge invented: and glorious was the citie or countrey, that fooded them byon suche mercye and pitie. I have founde dyners letters of dyners realmes of the oriet, sent forth mencioning thus: we the kynge of Parthes in Asie, to the conscript fathers of Rome, and to the happy people of Italy, and but all theym of that empire, havinge the name of Romaynes, and surname of elemency, Salutation to your persones. We sende peace and tranquillitie to you, as we demaund the same of the goddis.

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Thus than regard, what glozious tytle of Clemencye our pzedecessours Romannes hadde: and what example of clemency they have left fozal emperours to com. Take this foz certayn, that the Tensures oz minysters of Justice, fozgettynge the pitie of the Romanns, shal be reputed cruelle, as Barbariens: Noz Rome shall not repute them as her naturall chyldzen, but as cruell ennemyes; and not foz augmentours of the common welche, but in-

famours and robbers of clemency.

Two han I was of the age of rrrbit. pere, beinge in the ple of Crete, nowe called Cyppes, in wynter tyme, There was a mountayne called Archadio, wherbyon foure ppleters were lette, and a sepulchie of a kynge of worthy same, and in his lyse pitiefull and full of mercy: and as one thewed me, there were certayne wordes written in greke letters rounde aboute the sepulchie sayinge thus: I have taken to me alwayes this counsayle, where as I myghte do but lyttel good, I never dyd harme: Athat that I myght have

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Rome, a : and ered in ten D glozinted: and ded: and jem opon letters of ng thus: or fathers but all omaynes, persones. bemaund

clemencye example on. Take on Jul be repuot repute nempes : e, but in-

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ne, There
oure pylthy fame,
s one thegreke let| haue tanyghte do
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have with peace, I never from for: Suche as I might overcome with praper, I never feared with thretninges: where as I might remedy secretely, I dyd never chastife it openly: them that I might correcte with warninges, I never hurted with beatinges: Suche as I chastifed openly, I first advertised secretely: and finally I never chastifed one, but I forgave foure: I am right sozowfull bycause that I have chastifed, and am glad bycause that I pardoned, In as moche as I was borne as a man, and my selfte is here eaten with wormes, and bycause I have lyved bertuously in my lyse, my spirite shall now rest with the goddis.

Dowe thynkest thou my frende Antygonus, what an Epitaphye was this? And howe glozious was his lyfe, fithe the memorie of hym buto this dave abpoeth foo immortal! And as the goodis maye helpe me in al goodnes, and defende me fro pl. Thaue not fo great belpte at Boms pep with his armye, not at Baius Julius Celar with his Gaules of france, no; at Scipto with his Affrycans, as Thaue at the kyng of Cypies with his lepulchie. forthat tynge hathe moze glozie in that mountapne beinge Deed, than all the other had in all their lyues with all their try= umphes, that ever they had in Rome. I fay not, but that the wyckednes of pil people fulde be chaftyled: for with out comparison, be is wors that favoureth the pl, thanne he that commetteth the pl: for the one procedeth of wekenes, and the other of malyce: but it femeth to me and to al other that be wife, that as the fyn is natural, and the cha= Aylement boluntarie, so oughte the rygour of Julyce to be temperate: So that the mynisters shulde shewe com= paffion rather than bengeance: wherby the trespaffours hulde haue occasion to amende their frnne passed , and not to revenge the iniurie prefente. D whatte places and Mm.iit. realmes

tealmes have ben lofte, not for the pines that the pl people hath comitted, but rather by the difordinate fultice that the ministers of iuftice have erercifed! Thinkyng by their rigour to correcte the Domages paffed, wherby hath rylen Claunders and frife, neuer none fuch bard of afore. wha a prince febeth any perfon with the charge of Juftice, he ought to fave to hym thefe wordes, whiche August Cefar Tapo to the governour of Affrike: I put not the confidence of myn bonour into thy bandes, not comitte to the my iu-Apce, to be a diffroper of innocentis, nor an executour of fpiners : but that with one hande thou huldeft belpe the good to marnteine them therin: a with the other handeto helpe to reple them that be yll from their noughtpnes. And mpn intention is to lende the forth to be a preceptout

of opphans, and an advocate for wybowes, a furgien for all woundes, a staffe for the blynde, a father to enery perfon, to fpeke fapze to mpn ennemies, a to reiopce mp fren: Des. In this maner I wolde thou fhulbelt ble the felfe in euery place, fo that by the fame of pitiefulneffe, fuch as be mynthalbe in reft a content to be my fubiectis, a that fta

gers halbe befrous to come and ferue me.

This instructio August Cefar gaue to a conernour of his, bicaufe it was thewed him, that he was fom what crus de el in f realm. Certainly they were fort wordes, but they fi be righte compendious : And wold to god they were witte of ten in the hartes of our inges. Thou waiteft, howe that ile at is foze troubled by refon of the centures aiuces therof. To at is a noyfulle trauaple to recepue the auctoritie of Juftice 3 into the hande of an bniuft man : and it is a thinge notto pa be fuffred, that one with tiranny full tirannyle duers of tit ther: not with the lyfe, but with the auctozitie to correcte me good me, therby to be called a good cefure. The auctout 15, of his office giue to bym by his prince ought to be his at \$4

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epl people uffice that na by their hath rpfen afoze. whá Buftice, be quft Cefar confidence the mp iuecutour of t helpe the erhandeto htpnes.

preceptout Surgien for euery perce mp fren: thy felfe in e, fuch as be s, a that strá

nernour of mwhat cru: es, but thep cellarie

ceffarie, and his good lyfe for principall: in fuche maner. that by the rectitude of his tuffice. the pll fould fele the erecution therof . 31 that have auctorite full tempre it with wifebome a purenes of liuinge. It is a great goodnes to the comon welch, and great confusion to bim that is chafifed with pepne, wha the miferable that is chaftifed, feeth nothynge in hym that challifeth, wherby be bath Deferued to be chaftifed . Ind cotrary, it is greatflackenes in a mince to comaunde, and great thame to the comon welth to confente, and greate inconvenience and reprofe to the inge to erecute: whan a pooze wzetche foz a final faute is put to moze paine foz the fame fmal faut bone in one bap. than is given to them that be greate for many tyrannies. that they have committed during their life. Thefe be they that peruerte the common welth, and fclander the worlde. and put them felfe out of auctorite.

Tan the.tif.pere that great Popete toke Elfa.the whiche is nowe Terufalem, the fame tyme being there Malertus Graccus, thyder came an Debzetve, oz a tete, as the anna= les fheme, to complayne to the Senate of the waonges acteues that were done to him in that lond, a fo in boinge his errade in the name of al that putnce, he faid thefe woz des : D fathers confeript, D happy people, your fatal De fenies pmitte, and our god leueth bs with Jerufale, lady p were witte of al Alle, a mother to p Chaues, to be in feruage of Rome. nowe that ile ato the Romains: Certernip gret was power of Boper, es therof. It amoch moze the force of his armi to take bs. But therfore e of Juftie I fay, that gretter was the pre of our god, a without comhinge notto parison the multitude of our synnes, wherby we doo meple diters of tite to be loft. I wold pe knew one thig, att fore difplefeth e to correcte me, y ve Romaynes haue not proued it by experiece. That the auctorite 15, our god is fo iuft, p if among be there had be.r. iuft me. to be his ac famonge. I. M. yl, one good, he wold have pooned al polit

And than ve Romayns Guld have fene as the Egiptiens byd home our god alone may bo moch more than all your goddes together . And certapnely as longe as me be fonners, fo longe ve thall be our lordes. And as longe as the pre of the Debrues god both endure, fo longe fall the pos wer of the Romayns laft. And bycaufe in this cafe I folowe one way, and by your fecte ve folowe an other wave, pe can not retourne to bonour one god onely, no? I to ho: nour divers goddis. I will leve this matter to the god, by whole power we have ben nourifhed, a by whole boute toe be gouerned, and returne to the cafe of our embaffade. Ye know what peace bath ben betwene Rome and Judee, and betwene Judee and Rome, we with you, and pe with bs. In all thinges we have obeyed you, and pe bs. Aoo tufte thinge we have denned you. And bicaufe there is no: thinge moze befrzed of the people, and leffe put in operation than is peace. and there is nothprice more abhorred, by the whichiabhorryng euery malyueth, that's warre: 3 Do warn you of this with trouth, proupde therfore tuffice, put thepin away of folowe your willes to bo bs pl: And let bs have no fuche malicious folke as intyfe bs to rebelle. The greattelt signe and strongest poller of the peace is to putaway the perturbers of peace. What profite is to lay peace peace, & in fectete to fay warre warre? I fay this bis caufe pe haue banifped the elbeft fon of king Toumeo out of Lyon for his demerites, and pe haue fente in his ftede Campanius, Marcus, Ruffus, and Malerius Graccus for prelibentes. They be titt. plages, oz.itit. peltilences, lo that the leeft of them were fufficiente to enpoyfon the hole empireof Rome, than moche foner our mpferable realme of Paleftyne. What thynge can be moze monftrous, than that the tuges of Rome Quio fende men to put away plle customes fro them that be yll, and they them selfes are the

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inuen:

inventours of newe bices? What greatter hame and inconvenience is in Justice, than they that have auctoritye to challyle wanton youthe, to glozyfie them felfe to be cas pitarnes of theym that be wylne: What greatter infampe can be in Rome, than they that ought to be bertuous and full to grue example to other, to be pll and bicious? I lpe if they have not fo writhen and enlarged the discipline of Juffree, that they have taught the youthe of Judee fuche bices, that have not ben harde of by our fathers, noz red in no bokes, noz fene in our tyme. D Romapus beleue me mone thynge, what counselles Jude hath taken of Rome at this houre lette Rome take of Judee . Many realmes are gotten with myghty capitarns, and moche fbedynge ofblode, and ought to be observed with a good judge, not in hedynge of blode, but in gettynge of hartes. Certain= ly the judge that wynneth moo good wylles than money, oughte to be beloued : and he that ferueth for money, and lofeth the good willes, for ever oughte to be abhorred as refipience. What thynke ye is the cause nowe abays, that your presidentes be not obeyed in a tuft cause? Df a trouth tis bycaule, that fyilte they commaunde butuft thinges. The commaundementes that be full, maketh foft a meke bertes, and fuche as be butult, maketh men cruel. we be fompferable in all mpferies, that to hom that commaunbeth well, we obey pil: and the moze pi they commaunde, the more obeyed wolde they be. Beleue mein one thynge, that of the great lyabtnes and smalle saones of the suges is bredde littel fere and great thame in the fubiectes . we that be fewes thank our felf wel aduertpled by the mouth of our god that layth, Euery prince commyttynge charge of Austice to him that he feeth bnable to execute the fame, opoothe not principally for Juftice fake accomplyffhe tu= tice, but both hit for his owne profyte, or els to pleafe the partie:

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partie: thinke furely, whan the prince bothe not regarde this, by some way that he thynkethe least of, he chal fe his honour infamed, his credece loft, his good mynifhed, and fome areat chaftylement come to his houle . Ind bycaule Thaue other thynges to fay in fecrete, Twyl conclude as nowe openly. finally I fap, if ye wylle conferue your res alme longe tyme, for the whiche ve haue put your felfe in areat perplies, kepe and maynteine Juffice, and we Chall bere you reuerence: Commaunde as Romayng, and be hal ober as Debrues : Grue bs a president, that is mercis full, and all our realme fal be obedient : Be not to crucil to chaftyle our mekenes, and we thall be the moze obedict to pour preeminece: I require pou belire bs or pe comand. for in deliringe a not commanding, pe that fride loue as fathers to the childern. And no treason as of loades to feruantes. All thefethinges fand the iche, wherof the fenate had great meruaple. And forthwith the fenatours proupbed for, tit, tufte thinges. The one was, that al thefe wor Des Quilde be put in writinge, to thentent that they Quild be put in the boke orderned to write in all good farenges of all ftraunge ambaffabours. The feconde to put bowne Graccus Malerius, bycaufe be was fo cruel, and in hatred with the people. The third they prouided Pylace of Lion to be presidente of that realme. Than howe femeth hit to the my frende Antigonus, byd not this Debrewe Speake hyahlp? D Rome without Rome, that of Rome holdeth nothpage but the walles, and arte fallen into bathaftre bices. what doodeft thou whan luch a fhame was laive to the by an Debrewe in the myd des of the fenater Certainly the greatrest plage amonge all plages, and the greattelle loffe amonge all loffes, is whan the prince bath his lyfe fo without lyfe, his tuftice fo without tuftice, his bedes foo buthout dedes, ain all eupli so bold a hardy, ain al goodnes

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t regarde hal fe his thed and b bycause nclubeas pour res ur Celfe in d we thall , and we is mercis to crucil e obedict comand. de loue as es to fet= the Cenate ts proup= hele wor hev shuld Capenges ut Downe in hatred e of Lion eth htt to oe speake e holdeth nthaiftpe s laide to Certainly rreatteffe us lyfe fo edes foo al good-

nes

nes fuch a coward, that rightwifely his owne men do ac= cufe him, and ftrangers repreue bym, none boothe loue brin, but all hate him, and his frendes well not helpe him. a his ennemies well perfecute hem : They that be pacfent refuse his goodnes, and they that be absent procure his pll: they that lyue take awaye his lyfe, and the deade his lepulchre. Powe to retourne to the purpole of our fuges. A prape the Antigonus, thewe me thy invide, wherof cometh nowe adapes the great sclaundze of the people, the infampe of the prince, and the perpli in Juffpce ? If thou knowest it not, harken and I shal shewe the, whereby all goth out of ozder. They that be prine are fo importunate. and the princis not refulping them: they begilving and he fuffringe to be begiled : The one with courtyle, and the other with ignorance, both que to fuche, that he foulbe take fro, and take away fro fuche as be fullog que bnto. and honoureth them that dishonoureth hom, kepethe the traft wrie in pilon, and delpuereth the vicious, dispileth experte persones, and trusteth them that be leude: and finally they provide not offices to men, but men to offices . They ozdeme the butufte to minister Juftice, and do iniutie to them that be full. Yet here and I hal hew the moze. These mpscrables after that they be appounted and sette in their offices, wherof they be nothinge worthy, more for their auctorite than for merpte of their persones, they are feared with their extreme iuftice . They take on them the flate of greatte men with the fweatte and labour of pooze men: They Supply with malyce that they wante of Difcres tion: And worft of al, they melure the Justice of other men with their owne propre bulitye. Yet harken and I chall fay moze. After that thefe ideotes fe them felfe in the gulfe of thefe barn befrieffes, that they lacke the repne of knows lege, a the faples of wiscome, a the ankers of experience, An.u.

noz can not remedy a fmall matter, but inuent other moze greatter, altering and troublying the peace for their owne particular welth . They were for their owne harme, and no leffe for the welth of other, and finally lefe them felfes. And therfore they aduenture them felfe into the gulfes, & inflame their loades, that have apuen them fuche offices to apue to luche as have deferued them . Thou mapfte know, that the beginning of them is pape and ambition. and their myddell is enupe and malyce, and their ende is Dethe and Diffruction. and if my counfell were taken, fuche fulde haue no credence with princis or gouernours, but as sclaundzed men to be separate, not all onely fro the common welthe, but fro they lyues. Surely great is the couetyle of them that be hameleffe, which without hame Demaunde offices of the lenate og princis: but it is a more boldenes of malyce for the princis to apue them. In this and in the other thinges thefe are fo bampnable, that neps ther the feare of the goddes both withdrawe them, no; the prince both not reframe them, nor bengeaunce bothe not lette them, no; the common welth dothe nat accuse theym, and aboue al other reason bothe not commande them not the lawe subdue them.

I D my frende Antygonus note this worde that I write in the ende of mp letter. In the pere of the foundation of Rome. bi. C. rlii. as the Romannes as than in the worlde had druers warres, as Garus Celius agrente therm of Crace, and Gneo Cordon his brother agaynft Sardyne, Junius Sylla agapuft the Umbres, Minutius Ruffus a gepult the Macidoniens, Seruilto Scipio agepufte the Lufitaris, and Darius confull ageinit Jugurtha byng of the Rumidiens, It befell fo that Boco konge of Mauritagne fauoured Jugurtha, and bpon them triumphed Marius, and they laded with chaines were led afoze his

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ig be other more heir owne rme, and ent felfes. gulfes, & he offices ou mapste ambittion. eir ende is aken, futernours. ely fro the eat is the out Chame is a moze 1. In this that neps m,nozthe Dothe not fe theym, them, noz

nt I write dation of pe worlde theym of Dardyne, Ruffus a cynste the that kyng of Mauriumphed afore his chariot,

chariot, not without great compassion of them that sawe it. After this triumph done, incontinent the same daye by counsell of the fenate, Jugurtha was beheeded in pailon, ahis companion Bocus had pardone of his lyfe, and the caufe was, It was a custome none to be putte to Justice, but firfte the auncient bokes fhulbe be ferched, to fe if any of his predecessours had done before any service to Rome, whereby the captine shulde meryte to have parbon of his lyfe: and than it was founde, that the grautfather of 280= cus came to Rome, and made great orations before the fe= nate, by whose wordes and sentences, his sayd neuel me tited to have pardon of his lyfe: and amonge other of his faringis, he reherfed thefe berfes that fard : what is that tealme, where is no good amonge the pil, nozpil amonge the good : what is that realme, that hath thepr houses ful of good fimple perfong, and banytheth away at wyledom? D: what is that realme, that fuche as be good are cowar= des, and the pl hardy? 02 what is the realme, where al pea= fible are displeased, and the seducious prayled? What is that realme, that fleeth them that wolde they? welthe, and are anary with them that wolde helpe they pl ? 02 what is that realme, that permytteth the proude poore folkes, and the tyche tyrantes ? 02 what is that realme, where they al know the eurl, and none procureth any goodnes ? or what is that realme, where fuche bices are openly commytted, that other realmes feare to Doo fecretely? 02 what is that realme, where as all that they defree they procure, and al that they do procure, they attayne, and al that is yll they thinke, all that they thynke they fay, all that they fage, they may bo, and all that they may boo, they date bo, and put it in operation that they dare bo:and worlt of all, there is none to good to resplit it! In suche a realme there chuloe be none inhabitaunte . foz within thoat fpace the pl men An.iii. mall

thall be chaunged, or elles dispeopled of good men, or the goddes wel confounde them, or the tirantis thal take the Druers thinges were faid the which I palle ouer at this tpinc. Howe thenkelt thou Antigone: I Cweare by the im: mortal goddes, that my hart breketh to thinke of the gret Chame that was laid boon Rome by fuch writing as was lefte to theym by the grauntefather of this kynge Bocus. This my letter I wolde thou fulbeft rebe in fecrete to the pretours, a if they amende not, we shall fynd the meanes to chastife them openly. Ind as touchping the banishemet I promple the to be thy good frende to the lenate, that we map top our anucient amitte to gether. Ind to get the out of that ple, certapnely I hal bo my biligence. I have with ten to my lecretarie Danutius to Deliuer the.ii. 99 . letters to releue thy pouertie: and thus I fende the my letter to comfort thy heup hart. I far no more but the goddis give the cotentation of that thou woldest have top a rest to thy perfon. And all copposall eupls, cruel enmies, and fatalle Destenies be leperate fro me Marke. for the behalf of my wife fauftine, I falute the, and the wefe Ruffa: Sheis then, and I ain then with bilitation of top I have recei ued thy letter, a thankefully I fende the myn. I Chall not reffe to befire to fe thy perfone in Italy, and there in De cple to leue my feuer quartayn.

Taletterfent by Marcus to Lambert gouernour of the yle of Helefpot, wha he did banishe the bacabudis fro Rome. The rilletter.

Marke emperour of Rome, lozde of Alie, confederate with them of Europe, frende of theym of Affrike, ennempe of the Daures: To the Lambert gouernour of the ile of Helesponte, sendeth to the of his parte cotentatio

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men, or the al take the. mer at this by the im= of the arct ng as was ge Bocus. crete to the he meanes banilbemet te, that we get the out Thaue wit .A. Certers np letter to roddis giue a rest to thy and fatalle ebalf of my ffa: She is haue recei .3 Chall not bere in St

rnour of the cabudis

confederate of Affrike, ouernour of e cotentatio and furetie fro the facrate fenate. I am furred with furres that thou hafte fent me, am clothed with the matel. & am right well pleased with thy greyhoundes : if I habbe thought, that thin absence fro Kome fhuld have procured fo moche fruit in that ple : longe ago I thulbe haue betermyned as well for thy profyte as for my feruice. I fente to the in Demaundynge but fmall thinges in my fporte, and thou hafte fent me many thynges in erneft. In good fothe thou halt better proporcioned thy feruice with noblenes. than I to commaunde with my couetife. for if thou remebie, I fent to the for a dolerne [kpnnes of furre, and thou halt fent me. tit. bofepns : and I byb fend but foz. bi. aref boundes, and thou half fent me. rit. Truly in this cafe mp pleafure is bouble. for here in Rome the great largeffe is publyfhed, and my fmal couetife there in Delefponto. Ind bicaufe I am fure thou haft great thankes of me. I prave to god to sende the falute and belthe: And that fortune be not bented the at a good houre. I fende the. ut. barkes of mapfer foles, a pet I have nat fent the al. fog if I had ba nythed all the foles in Kome, be fould baue peopled bs with a newe people. These mayster foles haue ben so wilp to teche foly, athe Romann youth fo apt to lerne, thoughe they be but in. iii. barkes their disciples wold lade.iii. 99. Carrakes. I have great meruaple of one thynge, and my hart sclaundzeth the goddis : foz I se wel that erthquakes caffeth down houses, a great waters bereth away bitoges, froftes frefeth the bines, fodein thondring and tempeltes breketh Down toures, scarfite of water caufeth berth , coztupt aire maketh an ende of the that be wife: a pet there is nothing that can make an ende of thefe fooles. All thinges at this day faileth at Rome, except all only these yoell trewandes, gestours, tomblers, players, or dromslapes, luglers, a luche other, of whom there is inowe a to many. D what

D what a feruice fhuldeft thou doo to the goddis, & what profete to Kome, that for thre barkes full of foles to fende one lade with wyle men ! One thinge I wpl fap, that with the bones of the wife men that ple is halowed, that aunciently were baniffed by the malice and enuve of theym of Rome : if the fmellenge wittes be not loft, as Itale ftenketh of them that be fymple, fo that ple fmellethe fwete of wife menne. whan I came fro the warres of the Parthes, the. titi. pere of myn empire, I paffed into that ple by by: uers fees to bifite the fepulchies of ancient wife men : and in the citie of Dozbite, in the myddes therof lycth Duide, that was banyfed by August: and buder the mountaine Arpines is the lepulchie of the renoumed Armeno orator banyfhed by Sylla: at the porte of Argonaut thou fhalte fynde the bones of Colliodozus recapituler of the antyke lawes, that was banythed by Aero the cruell: and in the felbe of Clinos, binder a marble, is the pouders of Splifo Seteno, that was fo well lerned in the. bit. artes lyberal, as though he had newe founde them, he was banished by the Marians. I fay for trouth, thou halte fynde it thus, for with my knees I have touched their fepulchies . Ind all that feafon my tender eyes were as fulle of water, as their bones were harde in the erthe. Thefe were not bas nythed for no bilantes, that they had bone : but it was the merpte of our forefathers, that they wolde be privated fro the company of lo noble barons : and we their chylorene fro the pouder of so renoumed lages. I can not tell whyche is the greatter, the fantalie that I have to then ple, of the compassion of miscrable Rome. I pray the as my fred, and commaunde the as my feruant, to regarde the places that I have thewed the. for it is a tufte thynge, and molt tufte, that suche cities be privileged by them that lyucth, whan they are peopled with suche deade wyse men.

And

And more ouer Centurion knoweth by wordes the heuve

cafe that thefe prisoners had with bs, and we with theym

the day of the feafte of mother Berecontia, I fay, I fame

not that bap fo moch cruelte in Kome, as the infamp that

we caused in all the empire . Rome, that neuer was ouer=

come by them that were balyant and bertuous, that daye

we fawe ouergone and troben bnder fete by those fooles.

The walles of Rome that were never touched by the Be=

nieng, had their lowpes full of armed tremandes : Rome

that tryumphed ouer all realmes, was tryumphed with

tomblers and inglers. I am fo abafhed in this cafe, that

I wote not what to fay og waite. Yet one thing comforteth

me, that fith that Kome & the Komarnes bniufty be not

recorce but with thefe fooles : the and the famous wefe

men tuftly halbe chaftifed for thefe foles : and in this the

goddis Chall not be displeased, that fothe Rome laugheth

at thefe trewandes and mocketies, one day the thall wepe

with these tomblers and juglers. I banyshe all these for

euer fro Rome, not for the bloudde that they have hedde,

but for the hartes that they have peruerted: a not for poc-

calion of any that be deed, but bycaule they were mafters

of folves. without coparison it is greatter offence to the

goddis, and more domage to the comon welthe, thefe tre=

wandes to take away the wyttes fro wyle folkes, than the

murtherers to take away mens lyues. If the gretteft gift

amonge al apftes of fortune, be to kepe a good witte, let

no man prefume to be of a reftefull binderstandinge, that

is an extreme frende to thefe tremandes. Beleue me one

thinge. Is one bride loueth an other, and one beaft an o=

ther, and one wple man an other : lo one foole loueth an

is, a what es to sende , that with bat aunci= thepm of taly styne (wete of e Parthes, ple by dy= men: and th Duide, nountapne eno ozatoz thou halte the antphe and in the of Splifo es lyberal, anished by De it thus, hies . And water, as ere not bas tit was the iuated fro chylorene t tell whythen ple, of as my fred, the places and molt hat lyucth,

nen.

And

other foole. TI remédie on a day as I revolued the registers in the Capitoll, I reode a ryght meruaylous thynge of Divery Do a famous

a famous ozatour, which is buried in the ple of Belefpot on the mout Adamantine, Whan great Scipio came fro the warre of the Deniens, better accompanied with hunare flowen trewandes, than with balpant capitagnes, be fapde to hym: Of trouth it is a great Chame to the, and a small bonour to the senate, that thou that haste ouercome the tople Affres, and beinge foo tople thy felfe, and of the blode of the wyle Romayns, wylte be accompanied with thefe tremandes and fooles. In that buhappy realme all the wife men coude not ouercome one that was thoughte fo myghty amonge fo many fooles. I fay to the that thy wet is in more perpl here in Rome, that hy life in Affrike. Thefe were good wordes, and not of no worldely malyce, and within a floate whyle after, and by dyners light perfons, and for a finall occasion, this poore olde oratour and ryche philosopher, by the frendes of Scipio, was bampfhed Rome, and fent into that ple. Than beholde Lam= bert, lette be retourne to thefe tuglers, and tremandes. Whan they are landed in that yle, let them go frank and free, foo that they ble not theyr accultomed topes . Thou thalt conftrapne them to labour, and chaftife them if they be voell. for thefe mpferable folke, fleinge from infte trauaple, take on them bniuft ibelnes, a conuert mo me with their trewandple, than if open scoles of bacabundes were kept. There is nothing that our fozefathers byb, that of Ipleleth me lo moche, as the luffraunce of thele bnthaiftie trewandes.

In the pere. CC. rrbi. of the foundation of Rome, in an horrible petitlence in Italye, to recope the people, was fyill founde out the invention of Cheatres, by the adulte of the trewandes. It is a shamefulle thynge to here, that the petitlence during but two peres, and the rage of these buthistes, to dure, itii. C. peres.

Lang

Delefpot came fro pith hun= arnes, he he, and a ouercome and of the nied with ealme all thoughte ,that thp a Affrike. ldely ma= ners light e oratout was ba= olde Lam= wandes. frank and es. Thou m if they instetra= o mē with ides were o, that di= bnthziftie

Rome, in ople, was he adule pere, that the le

Lang

Thamberte, I beleue well that the complayntes, that thele puloners haue begon here, thal neuer haue an enbe there. Dowe be it 7 care not: for the arudge of them that be plle, tultifieth the tultree and fentence of theym that be good . As the mayfter of Acron fapte : as moche as the hame of fpnne ought to be fledde of theym that be good, fo moche paple is the infampe of the pll . I thall telle the one thynge, to the intent that the chaftylement fhulbe not feme cruell to the. That fith the emperours of Kome are full of clemency to ftraungers, it is no reason they shulbe be to Charpe to thep owne. Sythe fatall Destentes hathe brought me into this worlde, I have fene nothonge more bupzofptable to the common welthe, noz greatter foly in them that be lyahte of condicions, noza worfe invention for bacabudes, nor a more cold renocation of mortal folk. tha to lerne of thefe gamners a trifelers a fuch other tug= lers. What thing is moze monftruous, that to fe wife men reloyce at the light pallyme of these bayne trifelers: what gretter mockery can be in the capitol, than the folythe fas vinge of a gestour, to be prayled with greatte laughter of wife mer what greater sclauders can be to princis houses, than to have they gates always open to recepue in thefe fooles, and neuer open to wife folkes: what greatter cru= eltie can there be for any persone, to give more in one daye to a fole, that o bis feruantes in a pere, or to bis kyn al bis lyfe: what gretter inconstancie can be, that to want men to furnishe the garylons and frontiers of Allirico, and these trewandes to abide at Rome? what lyke shame can be to Rome, that the memory halbe left more in Italy of thefe toblers, trewandes, pypers, fingers of geltes, tabourers, croudes, bacers, moers, gefters, a tuglers , tha p renome of capitains with their triuphes a armes. And whan thefe cattifes went all about in Rome in fauetie, sowynge they? Do.it. iemoe=

lewdenes, and gaderyng of money: the noble barons and capitaynes went fro realme to realme wallyng their money, aduenturinge they; lyues, and thedynge their blode.

In the bettermoste parte of Spayne, whan warre began betwene the Liberians and Godytains, and they of Liberia lacked money: Two inglers and tabourers, offeed to maynteyne the warre a hole yere. And it followed, that with the goodes of two fooles many wyle men were slayne and overcome.

TIn Ephele a cytic of Alie, the famous temple of Dyana was edified with the confilcation of the good is of fuch

a trewande and foole.

Twhan Tadmus edified the citie of Thebes in Egipte with. I. gates, the mynstrelles gaue hym moze toward it, than all his frendes.

If the histories be trew, whan August edified the walles of Rome, he hadde more of the trewandes, that were drowned in Tybre, than of the comon treasourie.

The firste kynge of Copynth arose by suche billapnes, I fame his sepulchie at Coppnthie. And as I fay of these Smalle nombre, I myght say of many other. Behold than Lambert, howe lyttell care the goddis take, and howe ba riable the case of fortune is, and howe the dedes of men mile. Some be had in memozie by their folye, and fomme for their wyledome . One thinge is come to my mynde, of the chaunce of thefe trewandes, and that is: whyle they be in presence they make every man to laugh at the folyes that they do and fay: and whan they be gone, euery man is force for his money of they bare away. And of trouthe it is a tuft fentece of the goddis, of fuch as have taken bayn pleasure together, whanthey are beparted to weepe for their loffes. I will write no more buto the : but that I do fende the this letter in Greke, to thentent that thou fheme hit

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villaynes,

y of these hold than o howe va s of men nd fomme ny mynde, they the folyes wery man trouthe it iken bayn weepe for that I do nou shewe hit

it over all the ple. Sende forthwith the Chyppes agapne, for they muste be sente forthe with provisions in to Fllytico. Peace be with the Lambert, helth and good fortune be with me Marc. The senate saluteth the. And thou on my behalfe Chalt Chewe to the ple the toyfull happy customes. My wife faustine saluteth the, and sendeth a riche gyzdell to thy doughter. And in recompence of the furres I sende the ryche tewelles.

fpeciall frende of the nouelties of Rome
The. rlivletter.



Arcus the newe Censure, to the Catulus the olde Censurine. It is. r. dayes past, that in the temple of god I anus, I recevued thy letter: and I take the same god to wytnesse, that I had rather have sene thy persone. Thou wyteste, howe my wattynge is longe, but the shortness

of tyme maketh me to aunswere the moze briefely, farre awave moze thanne I wolde. Thou desirest me to grue the knowlege of the newes here. Therto Jaunswere, that it were better to demaunde, if there be any thrnge abyden here in Rome of Italy that is olde. For nowe by our heup destenies at that is good and olde is ended, and new thinges that be yil and detestable we may se dayly. Thempetour, the Consule, the Trybune, the Denatours, the Ediles, the flampnes, the Pretours, the Centurions, all these thinges be newe, but the vilances that ben olde, all passeth to make newe offices, and to orderne statutes and practykes, to come to the councelles, and to repse by substatic. In suche wyse, y there hath ben nowe mo nouelsies

within thele. iiii. peres, than in time paffed in. iiii. C. peres. me nowe allemble to gither a.iii. C.to councell in the capitoll, and there we blafon and botte, (were, and promife, that some of bs may subdue a put bnder other, to fauout one, and diffrore an other, other to chaftife the pll and rewarde the good: To repaire olde, a edifie newe: to plucke bices bp by the rootes, and to plante bertues : to amend the olde, and folowe the good: to reproue tyrauntes, and affifte the pooze: and when that we are gone from thens, they that spake belt wordes, are often take with the worlt bedes. Dheup Kome, that nowe adapes bath fuche Se natours, that in favinge we thall bo, we fhall bo, paffethe thep: lyfe: and than every man febynge for his owne pro-Epte, forgetteth the common welth. Oftentymes 7 amin the Senate to beholde other as they regarde me: and I am abafted to here the eloquence of their wordes, the sele of Juffree, and the fuftification of their perfons : and after that I come thens, I am albamed to fe their fecrete etsozcions, their damnable thoughtes, and their pll werkes to playnly manyfelt. And yet there is an other thynge of moze meruaple, and not to be fuffred, that fuche persones as are mofte Defamed, and bleth moofte Difhonefte bices, that they with their most damnable intetions, make their auowes to do molt cruell Juftice. It is an ineffable rule, and of humann maloce molte bled, that he that is moofte baroy to commytte greattelt crimes, is most cruel to give Centence agepult an other for the came offence. De thinke that we regard our owne crimes, as through finalle nettes, that caufeth thinges to feme the leffer. And we reme be the fautes of other in the water, that caufeth thinges to feme greatter than they be. D howe many haue I fene condempted to be hanged by the fenate, for one final faut done in all the lyfe, and pet they commytte the same faute energ

il. C.veres. Il in the ca= ib promife, to fauout pliand re= e: to plucke to amend unteg, and com thens, the worlt fuche Se Do, paffethe s owne pro= es Tamin me: and I es, the scle is: and afr fecrete er= pll werkes thynae of e persones nefte bices, make their ffable rule, it is mooft ruel to giue

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enery houre. Thaue redde, that in the tyme of Alexander the great. there was a renoumed pirate or rouer on the fee, whiche robbed and browned all forppes that he coude gette : and by commaundemente of this good bynge Alexander there was an army fente forthe to take hym. Ind whan he was taken and prefented to Alexander, he fapde to hym: Shete me Dionides, why doft thou kepe the fee in danger, that no Opppe can faple out of the east into the weste for the? The Prate answered and sapple: If I kepe the fee in Daungier, why bofte thou Alexander kepe all the fee and lande as lofte : D Alexander, bycaufe I fyghte with one Chyppe in the fee, 7 am called a thefe, and bycaufe thou tobbelt with, it. C. Chyppes on the fee, and troublest at the worlde with two. C. thousande men, thou arte called an emperour. I (were to the Alexander, if fortune were as fauourable to me, and the goddis as extreme agaynft the: they wolde anue me thyne empire, and anue the my lyttel thyppe : and than peraduenture I thuld be a better kyng than thou arte, and thou a wors thefe than I am.

These were high wordes, and well recepued of Alexaber: and of trouth to se if his wordes were correspondente to his promples, he made hym from a Pyrate a great capitagne of an army: and he was more bertuous on lade, than he was cruell on thesee. I promple the Catulus Alexander dyode ryght well therin, and Dionides was to be prayled greatly for that he had sayde. Nowe adaptes in Italye they that robbe openly are called lordes: and they

that robbe painely are called thenes.

In the pere bokes of Lyuius I have redde, that in the feconde troublous warre punyke betwene the Romaynes and Carthagniens, there came an ambassadour Lusy-tapue sente fro Spayne, to treate for accorde of peace.

mhan

Whan he camme to Rome, he proued before the senate. that forth he entred into Italye, be had ben. r. tomes robs bed of his goodes, and whyles he was at Bome, he had Cene one of them that bad robbed bym, bange bp an other that had befended hom. De leinge fopil a bede, and home the thefe was laued without Juffpce, as a desperate man toke a cole and wrote on the apbet as foloweth. Daybette thou art made amonge theues, nourifhed among theues. cutte of theues, wroughte of theues, made of theues , fet amongetheues, and thou arte peopled with innocentes. And there as I redde thele wordes was in the original of Lyuius, and in his histories. I (were to the by the immortall goddis, that all the Decade was written with blacke pake, and thefe wordes with redde bermylon . I can not tell what wordes I foulde fende the, but that every thinge is fo newe and fo tender, and is topned with fo pl fpment, that I feare me all woll fall Codepnly to the playne erthe. Itell the that fome are fodaynly rpfen within Rome buto balour, to whom I well rather affure their fal, than their lofe. for all buplopinge haltelp made can not be fure. The longer a tree is kept in his kynde, it wyll be the longer et it be olde. The trees whole fruite we cate in fommer, boo marine be in wynter. D howe many haue we fene, wherof the have meruapled of their rylinge, and abalthed of theirfalles, They have growen as a hole pece, and foben: ly wafted as a fcome. They; felicite bath ben but a fhorte popute, and their infortune as a long lyfe. finallye they have aredied the mil, a armed it with flones of encreace, and after a lyttel gryndping left it, in btyle al the hole pere after. Thou knowelt wel my frend Catulus that we have Ly fene Cincius fuluius in one pere made Confule, and his chplozen teibunes, and his wpfe a matron for ponge maps beng, and bely be that made keper of the capitol, and after that

more fray

the enate. tpmes robs me, he had bp an other , and howe perate man .Daybette ong theues, theues, let innocentes. oziainal of the immor with blacke 3 can not uery thinge pl syment, apne erthe. Rome buto Lthan their e sure. The e longer et mmer, Doo sene, wher= abambed of and fobens ut a shorte nallye they f encreace, ne hole pere at we have ile, and his onge mays Land after

that

that not in one pere but the fame bar we faw Cincius bebeebed in the place, his chyloren browneb in Trbze, bis wefe banytheb fro Kome, his house raced bowne to the grounde, and all his good confil ked to the common treafourte. This rigozous example we have not rebbe in any boke to take a copie of it, but we have fene it with our eres to kepe it in our myndes. Is the nations of people are ba tiable, fo are the condicions of men buers, and appetites of mostall folke: and me thinketh this is true, leinge that fome loue, fome hate, and that that fome feke, fome efchemeth : 3nd that that fome fetteth lyttelle by, other make of. In fuch wife of al can not be cotent with one thing, noz fome with all thinges can not be fatisfico. Let euerp man chufe as bym lyfte, and enbrace the worlde whan he well, That rather mount a fofte pace to the falling, and pf T can not come therto, I well abyde by the way, rather tha with (weatte to mount haftely, and than to tumble Down beedlyng. In this cafe fith mens bartes bnderftond it, we nebe not to write further with pennes. Ind of this matter regarde not the lettell that I do fave, but the great deale that I wyl fap. and foth I have begon, and art in Grange landes, I wpl wipte the al the newes fro hens. This pere the. rrb. day of Day, there came an ambalfabour out of Afte, fapenge he was of the ple of Cetyn, a baron tyghte elegant of body, ruddy of aspect, and ryght hardy of coutage. De considered beinge at Rome though the sommers bapes were longe, pet wenter wolde brawe on, and than wolde it be daungerous faplyinge in to his ple: and fawe that his befones was not dispatched: On a day beinge at the gate of the Senate, feinge al the Senatours entre in to the Capitolle, without any armour bpon them, be as a man of good fpirite, and selatour of his countrepe, in the presence of by all sappe these wordes: 10p D las

TO fathers conscripte, D bappy people, 3 am come fro a ftraunge countrey to Kome, onely to fee Rome, and T haue founde Kome without Kome: The walles wherewith it is inclosed, hath not broughte me byther, but the fame of them that gouerne it. I am not come to fe the tres fourie, wherin is the treafure of all realmes, but I am come to fe the facred fenate, out of the whiche iffueth the counfell for al men : I came not to le pou, bycaule pe banoupfhe all other, but bycause I thought you moze bertuous than all other. I bare well fay one thonge, except the goddes make me blond, and trouble mon binderftanding, pe be not Komayns of Kome, not this is not Kome of the Romanns pour predecessours. We have berde in our ple, that dyuers realmes ben wonne by the balyantile of one, and conferued by the wyfedome of all the fenate: and at this houre pe are more lyke to be diffroyed, than to winne as your fathers bydde: all their exercise was in goodnes, and ye that are their chylocrne paffe all your tyme in ceris monies. I fay this ye Romayns, bycaule ve have almost bylde me with laughynge at you, to fe howe pe boo all as moche your diligence to leave your armure withoute the gate of the fenate, as your predecestours byd to take them to defende the empire. What profpte is it to you to leave pour armes for the furcties of pour performes, and putte them on, wher with ve flee all the worlde ? What profyteth it to the thoughtfull fuiter, that the lenatour entreth bus armed in to the fenate without (werde o; dagger: and his harte entreth into the fenate armed with malpce ! D Ros mapnes, I wil ye knowe, that in out yle we hold you not as armed capitaines, but as malicios fenators: not with Charpe grounden (werdes a daggers, but with harde het: tes a benomous tonques pe feare bs. Afpe fulbe in the fenat put on harnes, a therwith take away your lyues, it mere

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come fro e, and] s where-, but the ethetres ma F tu ueth the e pe bane bertu= rcept the tanding, me of the our ple, e of one, : and at to winne roodnes, ein ceri= re almost oo all as oute the ake them to leaue ind putte 020syteth reth bns : and his ! D 180= o rou not not with arde het= de in the lpues, it

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were but a smalle loffe, feinge that pe fuffepn not the innocentes, no: bifpatche not the bufineffes of futters, 7 can not luffre it. I canne not telle in what flate ve flande bere at Rome: for in out ile we take armour fro foles, whether pour armours are take awaye as fro foles or madde fol= kes, I wot not: If it be bone for ambitioulnes, it cometh not of Komaynes, but of tyzauntes, that wanglers and trefull folke thulde be tuges over the pealible, and the am bicious ouer the meke, and the malicious ouer the fimple: if it be done bycause pe be foles, it is not in the law of the goddis, that. iii. C. fooles fhuld gouerne, iii. C. 99 , bife men. It is a longe feafon that I haue tarped for myn an-(were and lycence, and by your madnes am now farder of, than I was the freste day. We bringe ople, bony, faffron, wood, and tymbie, falt, fpluer, and golde out of our ple into Rome, and pe wpl that we goo elles where to feke Juftice. Ye wyl haue one lawe to gather your rentes, and an other to determine our Juffices : pe wil that we pare our tributes in one day, a pe wpl not discharge one of our errades in a hole pere. I require pou Romanns determine your felfes to take away our lyues, and fo we fhall ende: o; els here our complayntes, to thentet that we may ferue pou. for in an other maner it map be than pe know by hes tringe with your eares, whiche peraduenture pe wold not fe with your eien. And if pe think my wordes be out of me= fure, fo p pe wyl remedy my coutrey, I fet not by my lyfe. Ind thus I make an ende. Merily frende Catulo thefe be the wordes, that he spake to the senate, which I gat in wif tinge. I fay of trouth, o the hardines, that the Komapnes were wont to have in other courres, the fame as now ftras gers have in Kome. There were that fapde, that this ams bassadour shulde be chastised, but the goddis fozbro, p foz faying trouth in my prefence, he chulde haue ben correcte. Pp.u. Tris

It is inough a to moche to, to fuffre thele empls, thoughe we flee no; perfecute those that advertyle and warne be of them. The thepe ar not in furctie of the wolfe, but if the thepard have his dogge with him. I mene, doggis ought not to leave barkyinge for to awake the thepardes. There is no god commaundeth, no: lawe counfayleth, no: com= mon welthe fuffreth, that they whiche are commytted to chaftple lpers, thuld hang them that lay trouth. And fith the fenatours hewe them felfe men in their lyupnae, and Sometyme more humayne than other that be flaues . who elles foulde Delyuer them fro chaftifement ! D Kome and no Rome, hauping nothing but the name of Rome, where is now become the noblenes of the triumphes, the glorie of thy chylozene, the rectitude of thy Juftice, and the honour of thy temples: for as nowe they chaftile hym more that murmureth agaynfte one only Senatour, than they Do them that blafpheme al the goddis at ones. for it ares ueth me moze to le a Senatour oz cenfure to be wozlte of all other, than it displeaseth me, that it buld be fapo, that be is the best of all other. for a trouthe I fave to the my frende Catulus, that as nowe we nede not to feke to the goddis in the temples, for the Senatours are made goddes in our bandes. This is the difference betwene theym that ben immortall, and they that be mortall. for the god Dis neuer Do thynge that is vil, and the Benatours Doo neuer good thinge: the goddis neuer lpe, and they neuer fay trouthe: the goddis pardon often, and they never forgrue : the goddis are content to be bonoured. b. tymes in the pere, and the Senatours wolde be honoured.r. tymes a day. What welt thou that I shulbe say more! but what fo euer the goddis do, they ought to be papled : and the fenatours in all their workes deferue to be reproued . frnally I conclude, that the goddis affure and affirme eues ep thing

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pet not (p) thoughe parne bg but if the is ought . There 102 com= wtted to And fith ige, and es, who ome and e, where ne aloxie the homoze moze an they oz it ares vozste of ipd, that the mp e to the De gode theym the gods urs boo p neuer uer fojpmes in . tymes it what and the ed.fpme eue= p thing

ep thonge, and they erre and faple in nothonge : and the fenatours affure nothynge, but erre in all thynges : onely for one thinge the fenatours are not of reafone to be cha-Apled : and that is, whan they intende not to amend their fautes, they wille not fuffre the opatours to waste their tyme to thewe theym the trouthe . Be bit as mare be . 3 am of the opinion, that what mãoz woman, withdraweth their eares fro herrng of trouth, impossible it is for therm to apply their hartes to loue any bertues : Be it centure that tugeth, or lenatour that orderneth, or emperour that commaundeth, oz confule that executethe, oz ozatour that preacheth. Ro mortall man take he neuer fo good bede to his werkes, not reason so well in his defires, but that he deserveth some chastplement for some cause or counsaple in his doinges. And lithe I have written to the thus of o= ther, I will somwhat speake of my selfe, bycause of the bozdes of thy letter. I haue gathered, that thou befirefte to knowe of my person. Knowe thou for certagne, that in the balendes of Januarpe I was made cenfure in the fenate, the whiche office I defired not, no. I have not deferued it. The opinion of all wyfe men is, that no manne without he lacke wette, or furmounteth in foly, wel aladly take on hym the burden a charges of other men: A gret= many ter cafe it is for a Chamefalte man to take on him an offpce to pleafe euerpe man, for he muste thebe a countenaunce outwarde, contrarpe to that he thynketh inwarde. Thou wpite fape, that the good are orderned to take the charge of offices. D bnhapppe Romethat hathe willed to take me in luche wyle, as to be the belte in it. Greuous peltylence ought to come fo; them that be good, fith 3 am fca= ped as good amonge the pil. I have accepted this office, not for that I had any nede therof, but to fatisfie the Des fres of my wife faultine, and to fulfyll the commaundes 10 p. iii. ment

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ment of Inthonius my grauntfather. Daue no meruaple of any thynge that I bo, but of that I leave to be bone. for any man that is wedded to faultyne, there is no by: lany but be (ball do it. I fwere to the, that fith the day we were webbed, me femethe that I haue no wotte. I leaue weddpinge for this tyme, and retourne to fpeake of offices. Surely a pealible man ought to be in offices, thoughe it be pepuefull : for as the offoces are affured amonge them that be bertuous, so perplously goth the bertuous folke amonge offices. And for the trouthe bereof recken what they wynne, and than thou halt fe what they lofe . Save that is good, if thou knowell it, and here the pl, if thou be= fre to knowe it. De that well take the charge to gouerne other, he leketh thought and trouble for hom lelfe, enuve for his nerghbours, spurres for his ennempes, pouettie for his cychelle, awakynge of theues, peryl for his bodye, an ende of his daves, and tourment for his good renome. fynally he feketh awaye to rejecte his frendes , and a repeale to recouer his ennemies. D an bnhappy man is he, that taketh on hym the charge of chylozene of many mothers, for he chalbe always charged with thoughtes, how be hulde content them all: ful of lighes bycaule one hath to grue hym: feare that one foulde take fro bym, wepyng if he lefe, and suspection that they infame hym. De that knoweth this, without longe tarienge ought to fette a bit dell at his heed. But I fape of one, as I fape of an other. for I well swere, and thou welt not deny it, that we may finde some nowe adaps, that had rather be in the parke to fight ayenft the bulles, tha be in suretie bpon p scaffoloe. Dftentimes I have hard fay : Go we to the Theatres to tenne at the bulles : go we to chafe the hartes and wylde boozes: and wha they com there, they renne away, not the beftes fro them, but they fro the beaftes: In suche wyle as thep

meruaple be bone. is no bp: e day we . I leaue of offices. oughe it nge them ous folke ken what le. Sape fthoube= gouerne fe, enuve pouertie is bodre. renome. and a teian is be. anp moites, how one hath weppng De that fette a bat an other. t we map parketo caffolde. eatres to id wylde , not the wple as

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they went renying, they returne ageine fleing. I fave thefe ambicious persones procure to gouerne, a are gouerned: they commaunde and are commaunded: they rule and ar tuled: and fynally thynkynge to have divers buder their handes, thefe weetches put them felfes biber every mans fote. for the remedy of all thefe perplies mp thoughte is comforted with one thing, and that is, without procuring or offeringe my felfe, the fenate of theyr owne will hath comaunded me . In the. bill. table of our auncient lames be thefe wordes. we commande, that in our facred fenate charge of fullyce be never given to him that wylfully offreth hom felfe to it but to fuch as by rope deliberation be cholen. This is certapuly a fulle lawe. for men now be not fo bertuous noz fo louinge to the comon welth, o they byl forget their owne quietnes and reft, boing bomageto them felf to procure an other mans profet. There is none to folythe, that well leuchts wife, chyloze, a his own fwete countrep, to go in to Arange countreis, but if be fe bim felf amonge frange people thinkpnge bnber the colour of itt= fice to feke for his own beilite. I far not this without wepynathat the princis with their small study a thought, a the tuges with their couetple, haue bibermpned a thaken bown the hygh walles of the polycie of Rome. D my fred Catulus, what welt thou that I shulde fare, but that our crepèce fo minispeth, our couetile so latgely stretcheth, our hardines fo boldeth, our hamfaltnes fo Chameles, that we prouide for iuges to go and robbe our neigbours as capis taying ageinst our ennemtes. I lette the to wyte, where as Rome was beloued for chastiling the pl, now it is as mo= the hated for dispopling of innocentes. I Do remembre, & I red, in the time of Denis Syraculan, that ruled al Sycile, there came an ambaffadour fro Ishodes to Rome, beinge of a good age, well lerned, and balgaunt in armes, and

and roght curious to regarde euerp thonge. De came to Rome to le the mateltie of the lacred lenate: the beichte of the high capitol enuironned with the Collifet : the multis tude of fenatours: the wpfedome of the counfaplours, the glorie of triumphes : the correction of the pll, the peace of the inhabitauntes, the divertitie of nations : the habounbance of the mayntenaunce, the order of the offices, and finally feinge that Rome was Rome : he was Demaunded bowe he femed therby : He answered and fapte : D Rome in this the prefent worlde, thou art full of bertuous and wife men, bereafter thou halt be furnifhed with foles. Lo what brah and berr brah wordes were thefe ! Rome was bi. C. peres without houses of nycetie of foles, and nowe tt bath ben.iii. C. peres without one wpfe oz bertuous. Loke what I fap, it is no motherpe but of trouthe, If the pitieful gobbis now a Dapes byb reple our predeceffours fro bethe to lyfe, eyther they wold not knowe be for their chylberne, og elles attache be for foles. Thefe be thinges bled in Rome, but thou lendeft no morbe of that is bled in Agrippine. I will wapte no thonge to the to put the to pepne: wipte to me some thyng to retorce me, if thy wife Donfilla chanfed well of the flote that came out of Cetin with falte, ople, and honne, I caufed bit to be welle prouided for her. Wite thou, that flodius our bucle was caft bowne by rage of his hors, and is beceaffed . Laertia and Collobius are frendes to gyther, by occasion of a marys age. I do fend the a gowne, I pray to the goddes to fende the top therof. App wife faultin faluteth the. Recomende me to Jamyjo thy fonne. The goddes haue the in keping: and contrary fortune be fro me. Darcus thy frende to the Catulus his owne. Allets

T A letter fent by Marke the emperour to the amorous ladges of Kome, by cause they made a play of hym. The. ritt. letter.

Arke opatour lerninge at Robes the arte of humanite, to you amozous ladies of Rome falutation to your persones, and amendement of your despited lyfe. It is writen to me, that at the feaste of the mother of the goddis Berecynthia, all ye togyther there

goddis Berecenthia, all ye togyther there prefent played, and gelteb on me : wherin ve larde for an example my lyfe and my renoume. It is thewed me, that Aulina composed it, Lucia fulua wzote it, and thy felfe Tozingula byd finge it, and pe all together byd prefent it to the Theatre: pe have postraged and papited me in dyuers maners, buth a boke in mp hande, tourned contrarp, as a farned philosopher: with a tongue alonge, as a bold fpeker without meafure: with a home on my heed, a coms mon cuckolde: with a nettell in my hande as a tremblyng louer: with a baner fallen downe, as a cowarde capitayn: with balfe a berbe as a fempnate man : with a clothe afore myn eies, as a condempned bacabounde: and yet not con= tent with this, but the other day ve postraped me in a new maner. Ye made my figure with fete of ftraw, my legges of ambre, my knees of wood, the thyghes of braffe, the be= lye of home, the armes of pytche, the handes of mace: the beed of pello : the eares as an alle : the eies of a ferpente, the heares as rootes tagged : the tethe of a catte, the toge of a fcopion, and the foreheed of leade: wherin was way= ten in two lynes thefe letters, M, N, T, N,I,S,V, S, the whi the meneth (as I Do take it) The mogtall man taketh not the flatute fo ftrange, as the boublenes of the lyfe: a than ge went to the ryuer, and therin tred his beed bounwarde a hole

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a hole day. And if the lady Destalyn had not ben. I think it had ben tied there tyll nowe. Ind nowe ye amozous las dres haue waitten to me a letter by fulutus fabattius . wherof I recepue no pepn, but as an amozous man, from the handes of ladres I take it as a mocketie. And to then tent that I hulbe have no tyme for to thynke theron, ye fende to wet a question of me, that is : if I have founde in my writinges, wherof, by whom, where, whan, what, and howe the frafte women were made. And bycaufe my complexion is to take mockes for mockenges, and feth re Demaunde it, I fhall hewe it: you and your frendes and myn, and specially fulutus your messager hathe Defired me therto. There is nothing wherof I coplayne, but I wyl bolde my peace, faue to your letter and demaunde, I will answere. Ind lith there hath ben none for to afke the que-Ctio. I protest that to none other, but to you amorous women of Rome, I lende myn an (were. And if any other ho= nest lady will take the demande for you, it is a token that the bathe enuy of the office that ye be of. Certaynly if any lady theweth her felfe annoyed with your pepne, openly, fro bensforthe I condemne her, that the kepe no faut that the knoweth in fecrete. They that be on the ftage, fere not the rozinge of the bulle: and he that is in a bongeon, feareth not the flotte of artillerie. I will fay, a womanne of good lyfe, feareth no man with an yll tonque. The good Matrones may kepe me for their perpetuall feruant, and they that be ril for their chiefe ennemie. Robe to answere the question, to know wherof the frast women were made: I fay that accordynge to the divertitie of nations, that be in the worlde, dpuers opinions I fynde in this cafe.

The Egiptiens fage, that whan the flode of Aple ranne abrode, and watted the erthe, there abode certaine pieces of erthe cleaupinge to gether lyke greace, and thanne the

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beate communge in them created many bylo beaftes:and fo amonge them was founde the firfte woman . Aote pe ladies, that it was necessarie, that the flobe of Aple fould flowe ouer his brimmes, that the first woman myght be made on the erthe . All creatures are brebbe in the entrap= les of they; mothers, excepte the woman, that was brebbe without a mother. And this femeth true, that without mo thers pe were borne, bicaufe without rule ve lyue, a with= out older ye bye. Meryly he putteth him felfe to many tras uaples, and hath many wyles to fond, and many times to thinke, and to afke many fuccours, and to abyde manye peres, and to chuse amonge many women, that well rule one onely wyfe by reafon . Be the beaftes neuer fo cruelle and fierce, at the lafte the Iron is ledde of his keper without any bonde : The bulle is closed in the parke : the byp= bell ruleth the hors : a lettel hoke catcheth the felbe: and the wolfe fuffreth to be tred:onely a woman is a beaft bus able to be tamed : a neuer lefeth her bolones for any thing that is commaunded her, not the budelle, for not bernge commaunded. The goddes haue made men as men, and beaftes as beaftes, and the humanne bnderftandpinge bes ep high, and his ftreath of a great power: but pet is there no mã, be he neuer fo bigh, that fal fcape the woma light ly noz defende him, be he neuer fo ftronge. But I fapeto you my ladres: There is no spurres that can make you go, not raynes that can holde you, not by dell that can res frame you, no; angle o; net that can take you : and finally there is no law can subdue you, no; thame refrayn you, noz feare abathe pou, noz chaftylemente amende pou. D to what yll aduenture putteth he hym felfe, that thinketh to rule and correct you. for if pe take an opinion in hand, all the worlde thall not brawe you frome it : if a mantell or warne you of any thrnge, pe well neuer beleue hom : If one Da.th

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If one apue you good counsell, ve wil not take it: if one threaten you, anone pe complayne: if one flatter you, tha pe ware proude: if one telopce not in you, pe are fpiteful: if one forbeare you, it maketh you bolbe: if ve be chaftys fed, pe tourue to ferpentes : finallye a woman woll neuer forque any iniurie, nor que thanke for any good bede. Robe a Daves the mofte fymple of all women, I fbeare, well (weare, that the knoweth leffe than the both : and of trouthe the moofte wyfelt mans wytte thall fayle in they? reasons: and yet the wylest of theym swarueth frome all wyfedom. Wil ye know my ladyes, he we lytel ve knowe, and howe moche pe be ignozant ? That is, pe determine fodenly in harde thinges of grauitie, as pf pe had ftudied for it a . 90 . peres : and if any gapnfave you, ve take hym as a mortall enmie. Dardy is that woman, that dare give counsel to a man, but he is moze hardier that taketh it of 8 woma. But I far heis a fole that taketh it, and he more foole that alketh it, and he is moche moze folpfhe that fulfylleth it. Appn opinion is, that he that wyl not fal amoge fo many frones, not pricke him amonge fo many thornes, noz blyfter hym amonge foo many nettyls, lette hym here what I wpil fap, and do as pe fhall fce : fpeake well and worke pile: In prompfpinge prompfe moche, In fulfpllynge fulfylle nothynge, and finally alowe your wordes, and condemne pour counselles. If one shulde bemaunde nowe a days of druers right renoumed persons, that ben deed, howe they dyode with the counsell of women whan thep lyued : I am fure they wolde not have ryfen than to beleue the, not at this houre to be reupued agern to here them. Howe was kyng Bhilpp of Macedon with Dlyms plas ! Parps with Belapne ! Alexander with Rolane ! & neas with Dydo! Hercules with Devanira! Danyball with Thampia! Acro with Agrippine! And if re well not be: if one ou, tha piteful: chasty= Ineuer D Debe. beare. and of n thep? me all mowe. rmpne ftudied ke hom re giue th it of e moie at ful= amoae oanes, m here ell and fulfpl. oides, aunde at ben whan han to o here Dipm= 10 ! C

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beleue what they suffeed with them, demande of me howe To amonge other. D pe women, Tremembringe that Tam borne of one of you, abhoze my life: and I, thonking that I lyue with you, delyre deathe. for there is none other death as to treate with you, and no better lyfe than to fice fro you: It is a common favinge amonge women. that we men be bukynde, bycaufe we being bozne in pour entraples, do entreate you as bond women and feruantis: and pe fay, foth ve beare by with pervil, and nouryfhe by with travaile, that it were convenient and full that we always thulbe be occupied in pour feruices. Oftentymes 3 have fludred, why men defree women foo moche. There is no eyes, but they ought to wepe, no harte but it fulde breake, no spirite but it shulbe be sorowful to le a wyle ma lofte by a foolythe woman. The foolythe louer paffeth the day to fatisfie his fraht, the derke night to tomble with barne thoughtes: one day hering tidinges, an other day be offereth feruice: one tyme louynge bathenes, an other tyme he hateth light: he dyeth with company, and lyueth folytarie: and finally the pooze folythe louer may that he will not, and willeth that he may not. More ouer the coufell of his frendes profitethe him not, nor the chame of his enimies, not loffe of his goodes, not the adventure of honour, not lospinge of his lyfe, not sekynge of deathe, not cominge nere, noz goinge ferre, nor leinge with eyes, noz heringe with eares, noz tallinge with mouthe, noz pet felynge of hande : and finallye to attapne bictorie, he hath alway warre ageput him felfe. I wolo thefe louers knew fro whens loue procedeth, it is this: The entrailes that we are bredde in is offlethe: the breftes that we fucke; are of flefbe: the armes that we are nourifhed in, be of flefbe: the werkes that we boo, are of the flelhe, by the whiche oc= callong commeth the repeale of our flethe to their flethe. Manpe

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Many free hartes falle in to the fnares of loue. It Cemeth well my ladies, that re are brought by in pubbels, as the Egipties lay: The pubbels kepe no clere water to brinke, noz fruit to eate, noz fpfbe to be taken, noz beffell to faple with: I do fap pe are foule in your lyuinge, Chamefull in pour perfones, in aduerlitie feble and lethy, in prosperite fubtille and wylye: falle in wordes, doubtful in pour werkes: In hatinge ve kepe a dilozder, extreme to loue, aua: ricious to grue, bufhamfafte to take: and I fap pe are a recepte of feare, where as wple menne finde perplle, and Complemen luffre: In you wife men holde their renomes

disalowed, and the symple their lyfe in penuty.

Let by leave the opinion of the Exiptiens, and come to the Grekes, whiche fave, that in the defertes of Arabye the fonne fhineth moofte hote: and they fay, that at the beginninge there appered a woman alone with a byide called Phenyr, the whiche byzde, they fap, was created of the water, and the woman of the great hete of the sonne, and of the corruption of the poudze that falleth fro the trees, whiche the wormes doo eate: In this wple there was a tree fooze eaten with wormes, and it chaunced by heate of the sonne, and depth of the powder, that a fore kendeled, and so beent it: and than of the fire and pouder of the faid beent tree, the frate woman was made. And though I be a philosopher Romanne, I wil not fave, that the opinion of the philosopher greke was pil. for of truth pe ladies that be amozous, have your tongues of the nature of fire, A pour condicions of the rottenes of the powder of wood. After the diverlite of beltes, nature hath put fome fregth in dyners partes of they bodyes, as the egle in the beke. the buicome in the home, the ferpent in the taple, the bull in the beed, the beare in the armes, the boys in the breft, p dogge in his tethe, the hogge in f gropne, the wood doue

Cemeth, as the drinke, so laple nefull in ofperite ur werse, auaspe are a lle, and enomes

o come Arabre t the be= 2De cal= ofthe ne, and e trees, was a heate of ndeled, the faid ab I be opinion ladies e of fire, f wood. areath he beke. the bull breft, p od done

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her wonges, and women in their tongues. Of trouth the flight of the wood boue is not so highe as the fantalie of your folyes, nor the catte (cratcheth not fo foore with her naples, as pe (cratche foles with your importunities: nor the bog hurteth not them, that he reneth at, as pe bo the fo rowful louer that feruethe pou: nozhe is not in foo grette peril of his lyfe that catcheth the bulle by the homes, as the good fame of the louer is that falleth into your hanbes . And finally the ferpente hathe not foo moche poyfon in his taile, as pe haue in your tonques. Set all the good Romanne ladres aparte : for there be many , of whom there is no complaynt of their persones, not suspection of their good names. Dfall fuche mp letter fpeketh not, noz my penne wattethe not of thepm, but of other : I fpeke of women that be luche, that all benemous beaftes haue not fo moche poplon in their bodies, as they have in their tonques . And lithe that the goddes haue commanded. & our Destenies Do permytte, that the lyfe of men can not paffe without women : therfore I aduertyle thele ponge people, and pray them that be olde, and awake wife men, and teche the fymple, to flee away fro women of pll name. rather than from a common peftilence.

Medynge the auncient lawes of Plato, I fynde witten thus: we comand, y al wome openly infamed, be opely put out of the citie, to thentet that other leing their linnes not bupunished, may abhore the linne for feare to fal into the lame pepne. Also the lame lawe layth: We comande, that parbon be given to a woman of all the fautes commytted by her owne body, if any amendement be sene in her: but never to parbon they me that have commytted synne with their tonges. For commyttynge synne with an yl persone, is of fragilitie, but with the tongue it is of pure malyce.

Do diume plato, mafter a measure of al binderstäding,

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and prince of all philosophers, whanne thou madefte that lawe in the golden worlde, that there was never fuch fcar citie of pll women, and fo great aboundance of good bomen in Grece. What shall we doo nowe in Rome, where there be fo many plle openly, and fo fewe good in fecrete! Paturally they were wonte to be fhamefafte in their by: fages, temperate in wordes, wife of wit, fobre in goinge, meke in convertation, pitiefull in correction, well regars bynge their lyuynge, not kepynge companies, ftebfaft in promeffe, and conftant in loue. fynally let not the woma that well be good, truft in the wifeboine of wele men, noz in the flatterie of lyaht folkes: But lette ber bertuoufip regarde her renoume, and beware always of any manne that maketh her any promys. for after that the flames of Menus be let on fire, and Cupide hath hotte his arowes, the tyche man offereth all that he hath, the poore man all that he may, the wyle man layth he wyl be her great frede, and the symple alway her feruant : the wife man wyll lofe his lyfe foz her, and the fole well take his deathe foz her : The olde man wyl fap, he wyl be frend to her frendes: and the pong man wyl fap, he wyl be ennemie to her enemies. Some wil promps to pap her debtes, and other to reuege ber iniuries. frnally to hobe their pouertie, and to hewe their beautie, they leave thefe fooles lofing their persones and good fames. I will leave to speake of good women, for it is not myn intent to lave any thinge to their charge, but to aduertyle them well. I Demaunde of you amozous ladies, if Platon was there, whan ye made a playe of my lpfe, and brewe my figure aboute in Kome . Ao furely,in Debe by that I fe in you at this tyme, it is suspectous that is lapte of other. for there is but a fewe in Rome, whom Plato and his lawe bothe excuse. One thinge pe can not Deny, if I were the worfte of all menne, at the lafte pe haue founde

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efte that fucb fcar -000 toe, where fecrete! their by: goinge, Il regar: edfast in e womā nen, noz ttuousip manne ames of arowes. man all at frede, ppll lose oz ber : bes:and nemies. reuege o (bewe erlones vomen, charge, nozous e of my relp,in us that whom an not ve baue

founde

founde the ende of my bilanges. And pe can not beny me. but the that is leafte pll of pou, in all mp lpfe I coube not hewe the malvee of her lpfe . It is greatte perplle to wife women, to be nepabbours to fooles : Great perpli it'is to them that be famefaft, to be with them that be fameles: great pertlit is to them that be of a meke and fipl maner. to be with them that be bolde and rude: great perplitis for them that be chafte to be with them that lyue in auous trie: great perpli it is for the honourable, to be with them that be diffamed. for the women befamed, thinke that al other be Defamed, and Defpre that they (buld be Defamed. and procure to have them defamed: and far ther berl fa= med. And to thentent to couer their owne infamp, they enfame all other that be good. D you ladges in amours, it is long fith ve knew me and I pou: and if pe fpeke, I fpeke's pf pe knowe, I knowe:if pe be ftplle, I am ftpll : if pe fpeke openip, I wpl not fpeke in fecret. Thou knowelt wel Jup= Ha, that made the telte, howe Eumedes folde calues beret in the boucherp than thou foldeft the innocent birging in the house. Thou knowest wel Turiga, that one dape thou rechneoft all thy louers, but thou coudeft not recken them on the fenges, but befriedlt to haue a bufhell ful of peas for 310 thou Lucia fuluia knoweste well, whan thou were, thou wotelt where, with Breto, and madelte peace with theihulvande, thou tokelt hom a love, and lapdelte, but if thou myghtelt le out of the houle ones a weke, be thulb not le in the houle. Ind thou Retoria knowelt wel, that in the ponge dayes two peres thou were appoputed on the fee with a Prate, fo that he fhulbe take no mo to fatisfie a. C.men of warre in the galep . Thou Egna Coz cia knowelt wel, that whan the cenfure entred to take the, be found. b.mens gownes, in whiche thou wenteft euer by nyght: & thou haddelt but one womans gowne, that thou warelte

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mareft on by day. Thou knoweft wel Befplane fabrice? impt that Muinus Detellus a thou beinge maried, befoze the Cenfure bemaunded openly bis parte, of that thou gate tem in the house with the fecret louers. And thou Campil kno fo welt well, not beinge content with then owne nation, but by reason of the great hauntynge that thou habbest with fraungers thou canft fpeake all maner of languages. T wil mark them that have marked me, and hurt them that baue burte me, perfecute theym that have perfecuted me. and infame them that have infamed me: 31 other my pen both pardo bycaule they baue pardoned me in their play. and bycaufe my letter bath begonne in that pe haue bone to my perfon, therfore I wyl end it in that it feleth of pour good names. Ind thus I conclude, that a man map fcape free fro all Domages, with absterning fro them: But fro women there is no way, but to fle fro them. Thus I ende and bemaunde of the goddis, that I map fe of you, as pe Defpre to le of me. And fpthe pe be louers, I counfell pou as re haue fente me your tefte as for a mocke, in lykewyle for a mocke to recepue the answere. Darc Robyan to the amozous ladges of Rome.

Ta letter fent by Marc the emperour to Boemia louer of his, that wolde have gone with hom to the warres. The.rb.letter.



Arc pretour Romann fent to the warres of Dacp, febeth falut to p bis louer Boemia, which art in the plefures of Rome. I being fcaped fro f cruel bataile, hauc red f fewe lines written with the hande, a haue berde of the a long informatio. I fay to the, thou

half put me in a moze great abalhement, than the feare of ingne

uted me. eir plap. me bone h of pour ap (cape 2But fro s Tende u, as pe nfell pou pkewple n to the

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acres of oemia, 1 being p fewe e herde e, thou eareof ingne

fabrice impn enmies. In takpinge the letter into my hande, forthat befoze the with the berbe of malyce entred into my herte. Whan 3 hou gate temple my body with thy belytes, I thinke my hart is fre ampli kno fro the benym of then amours. Tof my will, and thou bi= atton, but caufe thou canfte bo no moze, we have given be to be free Deft with of our pleafures, I thinke as well as to make a Deuogle of uages. Hour enmies. But luche as pe be, fo pe bo , banpfhementes bem that of amours, and treafures of paffions. The loue of you all ought to be digefted with pylles : but the paffion of one of t my pen lou well not be oppreffed with all the Rubarbe in Alexans bue. Ye flewe pour felfe cruell to parbon an ennemp, and enery day light to change louers. Turioufly I baue kept pou all the while that delptes ouerpressed my youth :pet 3 coude neuer fe in any woman no certapntie, no: reafon in loue, but hate at the laft. The prefet leghtnes quarellethe with my youth paft : and it is bycaufe thou feeft not in me the auncient will towarde the, not the prefent feruice. And certapnly berynge then acculation, and not my fustification, as fufly thou paielt me with beth, as I paie the with forgetfulnes : The whiche forgettinge is as fraunge to be in him that ferueth, as bigentilnes in the labre that is ferued. Thinkeft thou, that I have forgotten the lawe of Menus, where as it commandeth, that the curious louers Chulo erercife their ftrengthes in armes, and occupie their bartes in loue! and alfo that their apparell be berp clenely, their fete well compaffed, their bodies fteofalt and not waverpage, their borces lowe and fofte, and fabbe in con tenance : their eies open galpnge at wyndowes, and their bartes reby to fle in the aire . Df trouth my loue Boemia, he is but a groffe louer, that holdethe his wille in captpe uttie and his binberftanbringe free. The binberftanbringe oughte to be lofte, where as wyl is in palfon . I fape this to thentent that though inque age haue lefte the erercyle, Br.it. Pet

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pet mp (pirite bathe not forgotten the art. Thou complaps neft, bicaufe I avue my felfe to reft, a that I have greatly forgotten the. I will not beny the trouthe: the bare of for gettynge maketh the mufter of my thoughtes, and reafon whiche is prouifour Declareth, that it is not to my grautte to permyt, that I (hulde love, nor thy age to fuffre to be beleued. As nowe thou knoweft, that divers thinges; that pouthe diffimuleth in ponge perfons, in age merpteth grewous correction. The bedes bone in youthe procedethe of tonozance : but the bilanies Done in ace procedeth of mas lyce. Whan I kepte the Cautons, I tetted in the ftretes, A lange balades, I galed to the wyndowes, I played on instrumentes, I scaled the walles, I wakened lyaht perfong: thinkelt thou, that I woll what I opd in my pouthe and nowe that I fe my felfe promoted tro thefe pleafures, and becked with so many whyte heares, and apparapled with foo many bolours, I thynke nowe, I was not than, or elles I breame as nowe, not knowpinge the waves that A have gone, not leinge the waves full of fronce, Thave fallen ere I was ware, I haue fatten in fnates:fekingend gupbe, I was entred into the whitlepoole ! and by the groffenes of my bolomes, I was loft, and therfore I have Deferued pardon. And nowe that I am out of the thornes and bufbes, thou woldelt haue me farther in than euer I was : and now that I can not take the purgations, thou offreste to me fpzopes : I have watched all npabte, and touched newly the alarme. for thy ancient amitie 4 page the, and confure the in the name of the goddis, lithe that my harte is rebell againfe the well, which is right bout full : caufe me to leaue to befite the thus wethout Doute. And to thentent that thou Quideft not thinke ani bukind nes in mp whyte heares, as I map arque the face of poel nes, I well that we recken what we have wonne, or hope 3 . .

complan uegteatly ape of for mo reason p arauite e to be be: ges; that pteth are= ebethe of th of mas e ftretes, laved on patt perip pouthe leafures. parapled not than. apes that , Thaue kingend D'bp the 7 baue thomes euer T ns, thou hte, and * Appap the that bt douts oute. onkino= of pock

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to wonne. She we me what cometh of thefe plefures: the tyme pll fpent, good name in Caterynge to pardicion, the patrimonie wafted, the credice loft, the goddis annoped, the bertues sclaundzed, the name of baute beattes gotte. and furnames of thame : fuche pe and we and other be. Thou waptell in thy letter, howe thou wylte leave Rome, and come a feme in the warres of Dacy. Seinge the fole Tlaugh, and knowledgynge thy boloneffe, I beleue the. And whan I thynke thus, I take the letter agapne out of my bolom, a beholde the feale, boutpinge if it be thy letter or not, Thou alterest my pulces and felynges of my bart, # the colour of my face changeth, imageninge, that either hame fermounteth in the, or els grautte faylethe in me. for fuche lyahtnes (huld not be beleued, but of lyke light persones. Thou knowest well, he that both yl, merytethe pepn foner tha he that bothe infamp. I wolde wite : whi= ther thou wpite go thou halt ben cutte for bertinace, and nowe thou woldeft be folde for wyne . Thou beganft fraft as cheries, and thou wilte be lafte as guynces : we have eten the in blosomes, and thou wolt be lyke the fruite: the nuttes ar berp good, but the Chales be harde, buth frame and bonge thou arte made rppe, and thou art rotten, and if thou be rotte, thou art to be lothed. Thou art not cotent with. rl. peres, that thou hafte, of the whiche . rrb . peres art paffed in tafte as wone, that is to be fold: and as ftrat beries byd bnoer the leaves that are corrupte and rotten . Art not thou Boemia , that lacketh two tethe, the etes ho= lowed, with white heares, aa riueled face, one hand lofte with the gout, aa rybbe marred with childe beryng!whp= thet wolt thou go? put the felfe tha in a barell, a caft the & tt into the river, a thou halt come out al weate. We have eaten the frethe fpibe, a nowe thou woldeft bring hother \$ rulty old falt fifte in fted therof. D Boemia Boemia now Kr.iii.

I knowe there is no trust in youth, not hope in age. Thou complaynelte, that thou halte nothynge. That is an olde quarell of the amozous labies of Rome, whiche takpinge all, fay they baue nothynge: and that ye lacke of crebece. pe Do fulfyl with money. Therfore beleue me louing fred. that the foly the efface, that procedeth of bulaufulle wynnonge, queth fmal furetie and leffe good name to the per Tone. I can not tell howe thou hafte fpende fo moche. for if I diewe of my rynges with one hande, thou byobelt o: pen mp purle with the other hand. I had greatter warres with my coffces than, than I have nowe with myn ennemies. I coude neuer baue iewell, but thou woldeft bemad it: not I byd neuer beny the. Robe at this houre I meruaple, for in this mpn age I fonde great honderaunce bp my youthe. Thou complaynelt of trauaple and pouettye. am be that bath great nebe of that medicine for this o= pilation, and a playfter for that foore, and to have fomme colde water for that hote feuer. Art thou not aduised, that I banyfhed my neceffitie in the londe of forgetfulnes, and Dpd fet bp thy well for the request of my feruice. In wonter I went all bare, and in fommer charged with clothes, I went on fote in the myze, and rode in the faire way: wha I was heup, I laughed: and whan I was merp, I wepte. Too ded I brewe forthe mp ftrengthes, and oute of my Arenathes cowardife. The nyahtes to fyah, a on the Day to warte where thou wentelt by. Whan thou haboilt nede of any thonge, I was fapne to robbe my father foz it. Tel me Boemia, with whom fulfilledft thou then open folics, but with the pll ozbers that Foutte mp felfe to in fccrete? wot pe what me femith by you amorous ladies of Rome! pe ate in the courte as the lettelle moughtes eatynge olde clothes, a pattime for lyaht folkes, trefozers of foles, ale pulchies of bices. This & femeth me is, & if in the pouche euctp

ae. Thou san olde takpnae f crebece. uing freb, ulle wonto the per oche. for podeft o= er warres ipn enneeft Demão ce I met: caunce bp pouettye. or this o= ue somme ifed, that lnes, and In wpnb clothes, way: whá I wepte. ite of my n the day doill nede oz it. Tel en folies. n (cerete!

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enery ma gaue to the bicaufe thou fhulbeff giue the to eue ry må now thou givelt thy felf to every må, bicaufe every må fhuld giue bym to the. Thou telleft me, that thou baft ti. fons, a lackeft helpe for them. Yeld graces to the goddis of the pitie that they have bled with the: they have given to.rb.children of fabricio my nepghbour but one father. a to two of thy children onely, they have given. I.fathers. Therfore Deupde them amonge thep; fathers, and euerve må fhal not haue one fpnger. I ucia thy boughter in bebe. and myn by suspecte, remembre that I have done more in marienge of ber, that hou biblt in her procreation. forto the gettyng of her thou byoft call byuers, a to mary her 1 bro it alone. I warte to the but lettel, to the respect of that I wold write. Butrio Cornelio hath Spoken moche on the parte be hom felfe fhall hewe the as moche of my parte. It is long ago fith I knewe then impacience. I knowe wel thou wilt fend me an other letter moze malicious . I pray the fith I wrote to the fectetly, befame me not opely. and what thou revell this letter, remembre what occasios thou giueft me to waite, a though p we be not frendes, pet wil I not leue to fend the filuer. I fend the a gowne, athe goddes be with p, a byng me out of this warre with pece. Marke pretout in Dacpe to his auncient louer Boemia.

The answere to the emperours letter fente bp



Demia then ancient louer, to the Marc of mout Celio her mottal enemy, I desire be geance of he person, a pl soutune for al the life. I have received the letter, a thereby person they danable ententes a the cruel ma lices. Suche pll persons as thou art have

this printlege, y lut one both luffre pour bilantes i lecret.

pe well hurte them openly, but thou halte not bo fo with me Barciforthough T be not trefourelle of the trefours. petatleafte am treasoureste of ther pines : and where as I can not revenge me with mp perfone. I fall labour to bo it with my tongue. And thynke, that though we wo: men be weake, and our bodyes fone ouercome, pet wite it for certaine, that our hartes ar neuer banquifted. Thou Capell, that scapinge fro a battaple thou bybbell recepue mpletter , wherof thou were fooze abafbed . It is a berpe common thringe to them that be weke and flacke, to fpeke of loue, wanton fooles to treate of bookes, and to cowarbes to babble of armes: I fay it, bycaufe the answerpinge to a letter was not of neceffitie to reberfe to a woman as Jam, whether it were befoge the battaple og after. I know well, thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the first that fought, nor the last that fled. Whan thou were ponge, I neuer fame the go to the warre, that euer 7 Diebbe oz hab suspecte of thy lyfe: for knowynge thy cowardyle, I neuer toke care for then absence, for therin I was most fure of the persone. Than Marc tell me nowe, what thou bolt in then age. I thenke thou beareft the fpere not for to full in the warre, but for to leane on whan the goute greuethe the. The helmette I beme theu bearest with the to brinke within tauernes, and not to defende the fro the frokes of Twerdes: for I neuer fame the ftrpbe man with the fwerd. but I haue knowen the fle a. A. women with the tongue. D malicious and bnhappy Darc, if thou were as balps aunt as thou arte malprious, thou fhulbeft be as greately Diebbe of the barbarike nacions, as thou arte hated, as ceasonne is, of the matrones of Rome. Tell me what thy lotte: at the leaft thou canfte not benye, but as thou hafte ben a weake and flacke louer, fo thou arte nowe a weake mo flacke cowarde knyght, an buknowen frende, auaris cious

oo Co with trefours. mb where all labour th we wo= pet wite it ed. Thou t recepue is a berve e, to fpeke o cowarwetynge oman as . I know first that onge, I De oz bab e, 3 nenost fure thou boft oz to iuft areuethe o dzinke rokes of p [werd. tonque. s balps greately ated, as hat thy ou haste weake auari=

cious

cious, infamed, malicious, cruell, ennemy to every man. And we that have knowen the and frende to no bodye . pong frong and lufty, codemne the for an olde fole. Thou favelt, that takynge my letter in to thy handes, thy harte toke the poplon of malpre. I beleue it well without fweerna, for any thrnge bernge malicious forthwith findeth lodging in the hous. Beaftes that be corrupt, lightly take the poplon, that they that ben of good complexion cafte a= way. Of one thyng I am in certagne, thou halt not ope of poplon. for one benyme oftentymes byftropethe an other benym. D Malicious Marc, pf all they in Rome knewe the, as well as forowfull Boempa dooth, they fould foone fe what difference were betwene the wordes that thou fpekeft, and the intention of thy hert. And if by the waytinges that thou makelt thou meritelt to have the name of a philosopher, by the pines that thou doeft inuente, thou dofte merite to have the name of a tyraunt. Thou favelt, thou fawelt neuer certytube in the loue of a woman, noz ende of her hate. I have areate glorve, that other ladies befrbe me haue knowlege of thy fmall wpfedome. Ife Darc, 3 well not mocke the, thou arte luche one, as neuer Delet= ued that one fulde begynne to loue the, noz leaue to hate the. Worlt thou have certitude in love, and thou bufayth= full of the feruice ? welt thou ferue with mockeries, and woldeft be loued truely? Wylte thou eniove the perfonne without fpendinge of any of thy goodes ! worlt thou haue no complayates of the, and thou not ceasivace thy maly= ces: Thou fareft thou knowest the place of women. I wil thou know, we be not fo folythe, as thou thinkelt, no; thou fo wyle as thou wenelte, to paple thy felfe : pet hytherto hath ben fene mo men, to folowe the appetite of women, than ther bath ben women folowpage the will of menne. In none of bothe is great trult, and pet we bothe practife that

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STORES OF STREET

that one man hath bis harte fo myghty to be more wifer than the wyle women, and one woman thynketh ber foo ftronge to put bnber her fete and ouercome. iti . C. fuche as be light. Thou favelt, thou arte abached of my lightnes, to leave Rome, to go to the in the warres. Greate is the love of the countrey, fith that many leave divers welthes that they have in ftrange landes, and lyue ftraptely, for to lyue in their owne lande: but greatter is my loue, forth that I wolde leave Rome with all the plefures, to go and ferche for the in fraunge landes amonge the cruelle battaples. D malicious Marke, D ftraunge louer : if # leave Rome, it were to go and feke my hert beinge in the battaples with the. And certapnly dyuces tymes whanne I doo thinke on thyne ablence, I fwowne and fozowe as mp hart were not with me, and pet I fynde no perfyte re= medy. I thynke our loue is not lyke thefe beaftes, that top of their pleasures, withoute to wylle, and bespre they? wylles. I (weare to the by the goddelle Cleffa, and by the mother Bereconthia, that thou owell me moze foz one day of loue, that I have had to the, than for the ferupces that I have bone to the in trii. peres. Beholo bnhappy Barc, howe moche in thy presence I have always regarded the, and in thyn ablence I have alwayes thought on the, and fleppinge I have always breamed of the, I have wepte for thy trauaple, and laughed at thy pleafure, and finally all my welth I have wolhed the, and al thon plles I have welled me. I ensure the one thonge, that as nowe I fele not lo moche the perfecution that thou boeft to me, as I Do the mysknowlege that thou makelt to me. It is a gret fozowe for an auaricious manneto le his goodes loft, but without comparison it is ferre greatter for the louer to se his love pl bestowed: It is a burt that is alwaye fore, 48 peyn alway peynful, a forow alway forowful, att is a beth

oze wifce th her foo . C. fuche ny lyaht-Breate is ters wel= traptely, ny loue, es,to go e cruelle uer:if # ge in the whanne 20 we as tfyte re= that top re they z by the one dap es that Marc, ed the, ie, and wepte finally haue I fele as T a arct ft.but

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that neuer endeth. D ve men, if ve knewe with what loue bomen loueth you in perfetenes whan they loue, a with what hart they hate whan they are let to hate: I Iwere to pou, pe wold neuer copany with the in loue: 02 if ye do loue them, neuer leue them for feare of their hate: a how there is never gret hate, but where as moch love was frift. But thou halt neuer be gretly hatio, for thou were neuer truly loued of ladies. The forowfull Boemia hath loued b.rrif. pere of her lyfe, & now the only hateth & tyl after her beth. Thou lavelt, I may be eaten for beriupce, and pet I wold be folde for wyne. I knowe wel I haue erred, as one that bath ben ponge and lyaht, and whan I percepued that I had lofte mp wap, and that mp mpladuenture can fpnd no way not remedy: It is the greattest lost of al lostes, wha there is no remedy. I have erred lyke a feble and a weake woman, but thou haft erred as a ftronge man: I haue er= red by simple ignozance, but thou hafte erred of a prepenfed and wilfull malice : I have erred, not knowinge that I huld have erred, but thou knewell what thou diddelt : A have trufted as farthfull to the wordes, like a gentylle man, and thou haste begiled me with a thousande lesinacs as a lier. Telle me, diddeft thou not feke accasion to comme into my mothers house Betulia, to allure me her boughter Boemia to thy minde . Diodeft not thou promile my father to teache me to rede in one pere? and thou taughtelte me to rebe the boke of Duibius, of the arte of loue! Dibbelt thou not Iweare to be my hufbande, and than withdzewell the hande as a falle aduoultrer ! Doeft thou not knowe that thou neuer foundeft villanie in my perfonne, no. I neuer founde trouthe in thy mouthe ? 36 leeft thou canft not denie, but thou hafte offended the god= bis, and arte infamed of men, a obious to the Romapus, sclaundred of good folkes, and example to the yll folkes, **\$(11.** ano

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and fynally a traytour to my father and mother, a breker of thy faythe, and to me forowfulle Boemia an bukynde louer. D malycious Darc, haft thou not cutte me in leas ues, offrynge to my father to kepe his bines furely ? Ill may the chekyn trufte the kyte, or the lambes the wolues: a worfe the to bring by the doughters of the that be good. D curfed Darke, a domageable keper of bines bathe the matrones of Rome founde the, in keppinge their boughs ters: I (were, that there was neyther grape no; clufter, but it was caten og cut by the. Thou byoft cate me beinge grene, I promple the it hathe lette thy tethe on an pledge. Thou fayefte, I ryped by power of heate and ftrame . It Displeaseth me not so moche, that thou sayes, as thou gyueft me occasion to far to the. The hame is fo fhamefull, and thy malyce fo bnihamefalte, that I can not answere the to the pourpole, withoute hurtinge or touchpinge the quycke. I wolde wyte of the, whan thou marycofte fau= ayn, whether thou foundest her arene or rype! Thou knowelt wel, and lyke wife fo do I, that other befibe the, gau ged the beffel, and thou brankeft the lies: other gathered the grapes, and thou gleyneoft the bine: other dyd eate the grapes, and thou haddelt the hulkes . D wycked Marc, beholde thyne cupiles, and howe the goddis haue gruen the tufte chaftplemet, that thou being ponge meritebit not to be delyzed of thy louers, noz that thy wrues kepe feithe to the in thyne age. for to be advenged of thy personne, I nede none other thringe, but to fe the maried to fauftine. By the mother Bercconthia I promple the, bifthy fmall wpfedome myght atterne to knowe entierly, what is faid of her and the in Rome, furely thou woldest were nyahte and day for the lyfe of fauftyn, and not leue the thought= full Boemia. D Marc, lpttell thoughte is taken foz the, & howe fer is our biderstading bicoupled fro thy though-

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a bzeker bnkpnbe ne in leas elp : Ill wolucs: be good. pathe the : dough= clufter, e beinge pledge. we. It hou apmefull. inswere nge the e fau= u kno= he, gau thered atethe Marc, gyuen oft not feithe me, 3 iftine. **fmall** s faid pahte ught= the, & ugh=

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tes: bycaufe that with thy great doctrine by day tyme thy boule is made a schole of philosophers, and the wantonneffe of the wefe fauftene by neght, maketh it a bozdelle of ruffiens. It is a tufte tugement of the goddis, that fith then onely malece fuffifeth to poplon many that be good, that one alone may suffise to bubend and lose thy renome. One difference there is between the and me, and the wife fauftine : for my bebes are but in fufpecte, and pours are openly knowen in dede: mpn are fecrete, and yours are e= utbent : I haue ftobled, but pe haue fallen : Df one thina alone I hauc merited to be chaftifed but pe haue Deferued no forgyuenes: App diffonour is deed with the faut, and is buried with myn amendmet, but your infamte is borne with your defries, and is broughte by with your willes, and lyueth fiell with your werkes : finally therfore youre infamie fhall neuer bre, foz pou liued neuer welle. D ma= licious Marcus, with all that thou knowelt, woteft thou not, that for lofpinge of a good name, an pll fame is tcco= uered: and in the ende of a good lyfe, begynnethe a good faame ! Thou ceaffeft not to fave pile onelp by fufpicion, the whiche thy falle ingementes thewe the: and pet thou woldeft we fhulde not fpeake that we fe with our cies. Dt one thrnge be thou fure, that neyther of the, noz of the wyfe faultyne there is no falle wytneffe: for the trouth is fo euibent, that there neveth not to invent any lies. Thou failt, that it is an olde quarel of amozous ladies of Rome, that in takinge fro many we are the poozeft of alle other: bicaufe we faile in credence, we are honoured for fpluer. It is of certapntie, that we myftrufte the hollie bicaufe of his prickes, the acomes, for his hulkes, the roles amoge nettyls, and thy mouth for thy malyce. I have curiouffee taken hede, that thou neuer lapbelt well by women, noz] neuer coud fynde, that any wolde the good. What great-Siii. ter

ter correction fulb I haue of thy wyckednes, or more ben geance for myn inturies, but to be certapn, that all the loupnge ladies of Bome are forpe of the lefe, and wolde be glabbe of thy bethe! The lyfe of that man is wyckeb, that | with many bewayle, and in whole bethe every body retorlethe. It is the proprette of poore bukpnbe perfons as thou art, to forgette the great goodnelle done to them, and to be foep fo; the lyttell that they apue. As moche as noble hartis glozifie them in grupnge to other, fo moch are they aftamed to recepue feruices burewarded. for in giuinge they make them felfe lozdes, and in recepuping thep are as fcla: ues. I wolve wyte what thou hafte apuen me, or what thou halte recepued of me? Thave adventured my good name, and given the poffeffion of my perfonne : I have made the lorde and mapfter of all my goodes: I have ba= nythed my felfe out of my countrey, and putte my felfe in perpil only for thy fake: and in recompence of al this, thou reprocheft me now of miserie. Thou never gaueft me any thing with the good wel, no? I neuer recepued it willing= lp, nog it bpb me neuer profpt. Al thinges recouer a name, not for the common warke that we fee, but for the fecrete intention with whiche we worke. And thou buhappy man delitedit me, not to eniop my personne, but rather to have my money. We ought not to cal the a clere louer, but a thefe, a a wply fee rouer. I had a lytel ringe of the, whiche I am determpned to calte into the rpuer, and the clothyinge that I had of the I have beente in the fire. And pf that my body were any thing ameded with the bread that I have eaten of then, I wolde cutte my flethe, and let out the blode without any feare. D curfed Marke, thy barke malpce wolde not fuffre the clerely to buderstande my let= ter: for I entended not to alke monepe, to releue mp po= uertie and folytarpnesse, but reknowlegenge and thynkynge

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tak to b the noze ben ll the lo= polde be sed, that topsethe. thou att, to be fole hartis ep alha= nge they as fcla: or what mp good 1 haue aue ba= felfe in is,thou me any willing= a name, (ecrete nhappy ather to uer, but ie, whithe cloand pt ad that let out v darke mp let= mp po=

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Bynge to fatisfie my wyllynge herte. The barne and couetous menne as thou arte thy felfe, are pleased with atf= tes, but the hartes incarnate in loue are lyttell fatisfico with fpluer. for love onely is payed with love agayne. The manne that loueth not as a manne of reasone, but as a brute beafte, and the woman that loueth not but for the interest of her person: suche ought not to be trusted in their wordes, nor their persones despred. for the love of her endeth whan the goodes faple: and the loue of hym. whan her beautie fayleth. If thy loue proceded onelye of the beautie of my face, and my loue onely for the money of the pours: it were not realte, that we were called welle louers, but rather bery nyce persons. D wycked Marke, I never loved the for thy goodes, though thou lovedf me for my beautie: with all my hart Floued the than, a with all my hart I hate the now. Thou favelt, the goddes have fhewed me greate pitte, to giue me fewe chyldzen, and to them many fathers . The greattest malice in women is to be bufhamefafte, and the mofte bilante in men is to be vil faiers. Divers thinges ought to be fuffred for the fragili= te of women, whiche are not permitted in the wifedom of men. I far this bicaufe I neuer fame temperaunce in the for to couer then owne malices, nor wefedome to ercufe the pebilities of other. Thou fateft, that my fonnes haue biners fathers . I Twere buto the, that though thou bre. the chyloerne of faultine hall not be fatherles. And of trouth if the goddis, as thou favelt, have be piticfulle to inp children, no leffe art thou to ftraunge children. fauftin kepeth the but to excuse her blame, a to be tutour of her childzen. D curled Marc, thou mapft wel reforce and take no thoughte, for thone owne choloren haue no nebe to be maried. for one thynge we are bounde, that is for the example, the whiche thou dofte grue of thy pacyence: £03

for lithe thou luffrest faustine in so many infamies, it is no great nede that we suffre any secretes in the. I say no more at this tyme, making an ende of my letter, delyting the ende of thy persone.

a ponge mapben of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, seinge her at a wyndow.



Arke themperour, the bery desirous, to the Matrine greatly despred. I wote not if by good adventure of myn yll adventure, oz by yll adventure of my good adventure, I dyd see the of late at a wyndowe, wher as thou heldest thyn armes as close as myn eien were spzed abzode.

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that curfed be they for euer. for in beholoping the face, mp bart forthewith abode with the as profoner. The bearnninge of thy knoweledge is the ende of my reason, and felynge of flyght. De one trauaple cometh infinite trauaps les to men, I fap it, if I had not ben poel, I had not gone oute of my house, and pethat I habbe not gone out of my bowle, I hadde not gone oute in to the ftretes, and if I had not palled through the frete, I had not fene the at thy wyndowe, and if I hadde not fene the at thy wyndowe. I had not defreed thy persone : and not destring thy person, I had not put the name in fo greate perell, noz mp lefe in trauaile, noz had given none occasion in al Rome to Speke of bs. Dfa trouth lady Matrine in this case I condemne mp felfe, fpth I wold beholde the. And thou woldeft be faluted, fith thou defreedlt to be fene. And foth thou were fet as a whyte marke, it was no greate mernaple that I fhot with

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tous, to wote not l aduen= = DB DOOT ta wynn armes abzode, face, mp bearn= and fe= trauap= ot gone tofmp nd if I e at thy owe, T person, lpfein o speke demne t be fa= vere let

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with the arowes of mynecies at the butte of the beautie, with rollyinge eles, with browes bent, well coloured face, incarnate tethe, rudby lyppes, cryfpe heares, handes fet with rynges, clothed with a . 90 . maner of clothynges, bearing purles full of fwete fmelles, and bracelettes full of knackes, with perles and ftones at the eares. Telle me what becometh of a woman, with thefe thynges, that wyl thewe her felfe at a wondowe? The moofte caule is, that I can esteme or thynke therin, that fith you do few your bodies openly to be at the cie, that your wylle is, that we Mulde knowe your delires fecretely. And if it be foo, as 7 afferme, that it is fo,it femeth me madaine Matrine, thou fulbelt defire hym that defreth the, to informe hym that fercbeth the to answere hom that calleth the a fele that be feleth, intende to hom that intendeth to the : and fothe 3 bnderftande the, bnderftande me, and bnderftande fythe thou boeft not biderftande. I am adupfed, as I went bp the frete falaria to fe theues putte to Juftice, myne epen fame the at a wyndowe, on whome bependeth all my befires. Thou booft moze Juftpce to me, than I to the theues: for I beinge at Juftice, thou haft tufticied the Juflice. I none date pepne the. The apbet is not fo cruell to them that neuer knew but il boing, as thou art to me that neuer thought, but howe I myghte doo the feruice. The theues fuffre but one beath, and thou makelt me to fuffre a.90. in a day: In one houre the theues lives are ended, and I ope euery mynute: I Dawe towarde beth wongs fully, and they fuffre for their fautes : I fuffre an innocet, they openly, and I in fectete. What thall I fare moze to the e of trouthe they wept watry broppes with their eyes, bycause they bye, and I wepe teares of bloud in my hart, breaufe I fpue. This is the Difference, thep; tourmentes fpiedeth abrode through al their bodies, and I kepe mpit togyder

together in my hart. D cruelle Matrine I canne not telle what Juffice it is to put men to beth that feale monep, & fuffre women to lyue that robbe mennes hartes: If they? eares be cut of, that pyke mens purces, why are womenne than parboned, that robbe mennes inwarde hartes a entraples : By the noblenes I pray the, and by the goddeffe Menus I contute the epther answere to mp bespre, ozelles teltoze my harte agayn, whiche thou haft robbed fro me . I wolve thou knewelt the clere farth of my harte, rather than this letter waten with my hand. If mone aduenture were fo good, as to fpeke with the, and that thy loue were not ashamed therof, I wold hope with the sight and spech to wonne that whiche I am in suspect to lese by my letter. The reason is, bycause thou herest my pile and rube reafons redpinge my letter . And if thou faweft me, thou ful-Defte fe the cruell teares that I offre to the by my lyfe . I wolde my mouth coude publythe myne enraged euplies, as my hart felcth, than I (were to the laby Matrine, that mp areuous bolo; hulbe awake the small thought. And as thy beautie a mine affection have made me thyn owne, the knowelege of my paffion fould make the myne. Toes fore that thou hulbelt regarde the bearnnynge, and therwith regarde the ende. Certaynly the same day that thou enpalonedit my herte at thy wyndowe, in the boungeon of my delyres, I had no leffe weykenelle to be ouercome, thanne thou haddefte force to constrayne me. And more greatter is thy power to put thy felle from me, thanne my reason is to put me fro the. I are noo mercye of the, but that we myght Declare oure wylles together . this case what write thou that I hulde say, but that thou haft fo moche power ouer me, and I fo littel of mp liberte, that well I nell I, my hert can not be but thene? And but beginge thene, thou mayeft and welt not declare the felfe

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to be mpn. And lith it may not be, but that mp lyfe must be condemned in thy servece, be thou as sure of my fayth as Jam doutefull of thy hope: for I shall have a greatter welche to be lost for thy sake, thanne to wynne any other thynge. I wyll say no more atte this tyme, but that thou accompte my perdicion and bethe, and drawe the lyfe of my teares in to open soye: And bycause that I holde my fayth in thy saythe, and wyl never despayse in thy hope, I sende to the. r. lytell rynges of golde, with.r. stones of I-lerandry: And I consure the by the immortal goddis, that whanne thou doest put theym on thy syngers, thou set me in thy harte and entrayles. Parcus amorous wrote this with his owne hande.

Tan other letter sente by Darc the emperoure to the sapoe gentyl woman Matrine. The rout letter.



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Ark habitaunte atte Rome, to the Matepne his ryghte swete enemy. I cal the swete, fozit is tust that I dye foz the. And I call the enemy, bycause thou ma kest not an ende to se me. I can not tell wherin it is, but sythe the feast of Jano

hytherto, I have wepten thre letters to the. And to the an sweet of them I wolve that I had sene two letters from the, if it were thy pleasure. If that I serve the, thou wolvest that I shall not serve: if I speke, thou wylt not speke to me, if I loke at the, thou wylt not beholde me: if I cal the thou wylt not aunswere: if I visite p, thou wylt not se me, if I wait to the, thou wilt give me none answere, and work of al, if other do shew the of my dolours, thou makest but a mocke theros. Ind if I had as moch knowlege,

where to complayne to the, as thou halt power to remedy the plaintyte, mp wifedome chulde no leffe be payfed as monge wife men, than the beautie is amonge fooles . I pray the hartely regarde not the contratieties of my reafong, but regarde the farthe of my wepynges, the whiche in wptnelle of mp pepnes I do apue bnto the. I wote not what good may come to the of my harmes: noz what win nynge of my loffe thou fhulbeft hope to gette: no; what furetie of my peryl thou hulbeft attapne bnto: noz what pleafure of mp displeafure thou mapft haue. I haue had aunswere of my messanger, that without redyinge of my letters, thou half with the handes tozen them all to pies ces. It ought to suffile the to thynke, that my person were hewen in quarters, pet I wolde thou habbelt rebbe thefe fmall lynes lady Matrine: foz by them thou fhulbeft haue fene, howe my thoughtes were troubled. Ye women are fo extreme, that for p faut of one man, a woma wyl complayn of all other men in generall, fo that ye be crue! fo; one par= ticular caufe. Openly ve pardone all mens lyues . 200 in fecrete pe procute euery mans bethe. I efteme it nothrige Dame Matrine that thou hafte done : but I lament me of that thou demaundedst Talerius thy negabour to fare to me. Dne thynge I wolde thou haddelt in memorie and not forgot, and that is, lithe that my lybertie is fo finalle, and the power fo great, because I beinge all holle mene owne, I am tourned to bethyn, that thou fullocft thinke, that whan thou wolvest insurie me, thou spuldest do most inturie to thy felfe, fythe that by the Tope, as thou by me dofte lyue. In this pil purpole perfeuer not, for thou bofte aduenture the lpfe of bs bothe. Thou damneft the condition, and diffroget mp helth, and finally thou must come to the medicine. forgine me bame Matrine, if I fap any malyce to the, that is, I knowe that ye women befire one thynge

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thynge, and kepe be in drede, that it (houlde not come by her thought. Thou were wont to be wel conditioned and at leaste though thou boeft not put it in bre pet thou hafte the fame therof : and an ancient fame ought not to be lefte for a newe bukpnones. Thou knowell well, what contra rinelle dothe bugentylnelle to the bertues in bertuous houses, and thou canst not be called bertuous, but if thou be gentyll and courterfe. There is no greatter bukindnes than to love her that loveth not me: That I bilite the and thou bilitelt not me, that I fpeake to the, a thou fpeakelt not to me is nothynge, that I knowlege the, a thou wilte not know me is nothing, though I were and thou laugh is nothpage, though I demaunde, and thou denyeste is nothynge, though thou owe me, and never pave, vet it is nothinge: but where as I loue the and thou not me, is a great thynge: that thynge that can not be diffimuled with the cies, not the hart luffre all the byces amonge mostall creatures, it is reason that they be forgruen, bycause they are commytted by nature, faue onely the buloupage of women, and the bukyndneffe of men, whiche are byces commetted of malece. After dructs feruices by me done to the, and moche moze that I have to do hereafter, thou Matrine mapfte all onelp pay me with one thong, I prap the refuse not to grue me remedy, fothe I haue not offred me in the perpil. If thou fave, that Patroclus thy spoule bath the proprette ouer the, pet at leaste recepue me to the profe, and I shall pretende possession of the . And in this wife in the bayne glozie to be thyn, fal couer the bomage not to be myn. Thou makesteme to meruaple fore, howe for fo fmale a mercy and reward thou canft fuffre fuch im postunitie fo longe. for certayn manythinges we grant to an importunate manne, the whiche are not graunted to a temperate man. If thou hopeft to ouercome me 994= Tt.iii. expne,

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trone, I holde my felfe vangupffed, if thou wylte lofe me, I holde me foz loft, if thou wolt fle me, I pelo my felfe as beade . for by the gefture that I make afore thy gate, and the lyghes that I make in myn owne house, are gret ly mone to reipfte, and the greuous affault of the, be cotfices moze to fommon bethe, than to defende the lyfe : pf thou wilte that I fcape this Daunger, Deny me not the remedy, bicaule it shalbe a greatter vice in the to fle me, that bilany to apue me remedy. And it were no iuste thinge for to small a papee to lose the farth of so gret serupce. I wote not what to bo, to make the my bebtour, and thou to pay me. And pet woalt of al, I wote not what to bo, nog what to thinke not to fap, not to whom to betermine me, bicaufe I cannot affure any profpte in me, but to be certapne in thy feruices . And bicaufe thou dofte trufte hym that bath done this mellage, by hom I do fend this open letter, and my fecrete aunswere. I do fend the a tewell of perles, and a befant of gold. To the goddis I do commende the. And I require the for to recepue it with as good a wille as I Do prefent it buto the. Barc the oratour to the right bono cable Matrine.

> Ta letter lent by Marc the emperour to Ly= bia a fapze lady Romanne. The.rir. letter

Arke full of soowe and pensyfenes, to the Lybia takpinge but lyttell thought of care: of thy small thought passed any thyinge on me, and also pf my troubles and bolours were lodged and bydde reste in the, thanne thou shuldest percepue and se howe smalle

the quarell were, the whiche I make to the, in respecte of the

ite lose ny selfe gate, re gret be cot= rfe: pf the re= ne, tha nge foz wote to pap : what icause pne in it hath er,and s, and e. And as T

to the care: ge on lours panne imaile cte of the

t bono

the tourment that I boo fuffre, if the blafinge flames iffued out, as the fried biondes do bienne me within, the Imoke wolde reache to the heuens, and make pmbzes of the erthe: pf thou doeft well remembre the fprft tyme that I fame the in the temple of the birgins bestales, thou be= pinge there prayoff to the goddis for thy felfe, and I on my knees prayed the for my felfe . I knowe well thou offredit hony and ople to the goddis, and I offred to the fooze we= pringes and lyghes. It is a tufte thringe to grue moze to bym that offreth his inwarde entrayles, than to hym that braweth money out of his purle to offre. I have betermi= ned, and disposed me, to waite to the this letter, that thou thuldelt fe how thou arte ferued with the arowes of myne eies, that were fhotte at the whyte of thy ferupces . Alas, howe forowful am I to thynke, leaft the calme tyme now, both threten me with the tempelt to come. I wil fap, that billoue in the, cauleth the hope boubtfull in me. Beholoe what mpfaduenture, I had lofte a letter, and I retour= ned to the temple to feke fozit, but I had nere loft my felf, in going thyther fo often, cofpoeryng my fmal merite. I fe well, that mpn cies the labbers of mp hope, are fet on foo hve a walle, that no leffe is the boubte of my fal, than the Daunger of the clymmynge bope. Thou bowinge Downe the leaves of thy high merptes, hafte broughte me to the popnt of continuall feruice. Lette me haue thefruite, and giue the leaves to whome thou wpite. By the immortalle goddis, I haue great maruaple, bycaufe I thought that in the temple of the birgins Westales, no manne shoulde haue had temptations . But as nowe I doo fynde by erperience, that the woman is more lyberalle and fooner ouercome that is fafte and ftraptly kept and watched, than other. Il the corporal domages are first hard of, er thep be knowen, and knowen er they be sene, and sene er they be felte,

felte, and felte et they be tafted, pet it is not fo in loue. for frall they fele the itroke therof, er they fe the wave howe it cometh. The lyghtnynge is not fo foderne, but it is feene afoze the thonder clappe, no; the wal falleth not fo fodein: ly, but fyifte fomme ftones breake afonder, nor the colde cometh not fo fafte on, but fome final feueringes cometh before: but all onely love is not felte tyl it be fetled in the entraples. Let every man knowe it that knowe it not, and thou lady Libie if thou welt, knowe: Loue [lepeth whan we wake, and waketh whan we flepe, and laugheth whan we were, and wepeth whan we laughe : it affureth in tabrige, and taketh in affuringe: Ind fpeketh whan we be Apil, and is Apil whan we speke: And finally it is of that condicion, that for to avue be that we delyre, but caufeth bs to lyue in pepne. I (were to the, whan my wol became the feruaunte, and the beautie caused, that thou were my lady, whan I was in the temple and returned agepu this ther, not delyzinge the, thou beheldefte me, and I as bn= happy loked on the. But D what a thoughte came to me, that my harte beinge hole, thou hafte bempbed, beinge in belth thou hafte hurte, beinge alpue thou hafte Clayne, bepage mpn thou halt ftollen it, and that worfte of al is, not belppnge to mp lyfe, thou consentest that love assayle me to the dethe. Dany tymes lady Libia conspherence that al my thoughtes ben hygh, and my fortune lowe, I wolde baue feperate my felfe fro the, But confiberpinge that my trauaples are well applied in thy feruices, I fay though I mpaht I well not be seperate fro the. I well not benge one thinge, and that is, that curfed loue taketh away the talte of al thynges, and pet therby alonly it grueth bs appetite, the whiche giveth be moche pll prouffite. This is the profe of him that loueth hertily. for one disfauour of them that is beloued, is more than all the fauour of this lpfe

mo is, pop the flet Dpt the Telf (ap fur 3Ini cha but out atn is a tem nus inco thou ladp reald Atren pole, beby one, that butp andt haltp

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mocketpe passeth by mocketie: but where as the true bert is, there is the grefe and no mockerie. Loue Gebethe her poplone, and cruelle Cuppdo fyrethe his arowes bype to the fethers. Than the even wepe, the herte frahethe, the fleshe trymblethe, the synewes shapnke : the biderstan-Dynge wareth groffe, reason fayleth, and so all fallethe to the erthe, foo that finally the heure louer abidinge in him Telfe, holdeth lyttel oz nothrnae of hym felfe. All this I fay bycaufe that knowlege to loue fayleth in me : pet be pe fure, that the workes fayle me not to worke in thy feruice. And fithe hit was myn aduenture to fe the, nowe it is my chaunce to knowe the, I bemaunde nothpinge elles of the, but that thou wylte love me trewly, fyth I love the with= out fepnynge. And if thou hafte harbe, that I am fycke at my harte, I delyze the to do me some good : for sithe it is all onely in the, it is reason that thou all onely feke for remedy. I was greatly comforted, whan fabius Carly= nus delpzed me in the behalfe to be a palfoner, and I byd incontinent all that thou dyddelf delyze, to thentente that thou on some day fulbeft bo that I befrze . Ind beholde lady Lybia, the woman that is ferued with ferupces, it is reasonne that the recepue some prayers. And thoughe my Arengthes have no power to open the gates of the pour= pole, as not to agree to thy demaunde, pet all my labours be bycaule of thy renoume. I praye the discouer not the one, noz begyle me nat with the other. for now thou feeft that in grauntynge is remedy, and in trufte is comforte, but promesse is decepuable, the delavence is perplous, and the entreatinge byndeth. I fe berge welle, that the hafty bemaunde descrueth a longe aunswere : but I wold not that thou huldelt do foo : but as I delyze the, foo de= freme. I fave agayne, I am alle thone, and not myne owne. And as for my felfe in al thynges I well ferue the. Mb.ii. And

MARCYS

Chilliam book

Ind lady Libia regarde, that it were as moch honour for the, as profptable for me, to tourne thy bisordinate befpres and purpoles, for thou feelt well it is moche better to heale Mostly than to late with faylynge of thy purpole. All women kepe one baungerous opinion, that is, they invil neuer recepue counfell that is apuen them in a great caufe: and if it be fo, as I thinke, fithe thou arte prapled and eftemed of great beautie, than be eftemed to recepue good counfel. And in this maner in cafe that my bomage be bery great, and the pactence bery lettell, I halbe called wife to apue the fuche counfelle, and thou righte gracious to foloweit. One thinge I fare : and parbone me, thoughe Thewe it to the, how that women be greatly infamed, that well take no counfell, and fuche as wille affure their renoume by the opinion of other, as moche as thoughe they were determined to to bo their felfe. Wherfore I wolde ve fould do one thong for an other as I coufayle you. And if thou fyndelt any yll therby, withdzawe the hande. I well far no more to the, but that I do prefent to the al my buhappy troubles, my desperate frahes, and my ferupces as thy fernaunt: Dep troubled bolours, my wordes of philosophy, and my amozous teares . Also A sende the a appelle of golde, and I apue it the on the condition, that thou fette then eies theron, and apply the harte to me. I praye the goddis to give me to the, and the to me. Darcus Aurelius the philosopher wateth this in bery areat fecrete.

THVS ENDETH THIS GOLDEN Boke of the eloquent Marc Aurelie emperour: who so ever be reserviterof may take it by reason for a ryche and a newe lastour, and specially epincis and governours of the common welth, and mynisters of instice, with other. Also the common people eche of them maye finde the labour com-

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AVRELIVS. 169 uenient to their effate. And therin is conterned certapne tyaht high and profounde fentences, and hollom counfel= les, and meruaylous beuples accenft thencumbraunce of fortune : and right (wete confolations for them that are o= uerthrowen by fortune. finally it is good to them that Dis gefte it, and thanke god that hath gruen fuche grace to a papinpm, in apupage bs example of bettuous lyupage, with he and falutarie boctrines and meruaplous infiru= ctions of perfectnes. Certainly as great prayle as oughte to be gruen to the auctour, is to be gruen to the translatours, that have labououfly reduced this treatyfe oute of Greke in to laten, and out of laten into Caltilian, and out of Caltilpan into frenche, and out of french into engliffe, witten in high and fwete ftyles. D right happy trauaple, fythe that fuche fruite is iffued therof. Ind alfo bleffyd be the handes that have written hit . A trighte prettous meate is the fentences of this boke: But finally the fauce of the lapde (wete firle moueth the appetite. Many bokes there be of fubstancial meates, but they be fo rube and fo bufauery, and the fivle of fo fmal grace, that the fyalte mogfelle is lothefome and nopfull : and of fuch bokes foloweth to lve hole and founde in Apharies, but I trufte this well not. Of trouthe areat papfe is due to the auctour of his trauaple. And foth there can be no arace couts polent in erthe, lette bs pap to god to

apue hom grace and reward

in beuen. Amen.

Graces to gob.

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Thus endeth the volume of Marke Aurelie emperour, otherwyle called the golden boke, translated out of Frenche into englyshe by John Bourchier knyghte loode Barners, deputie general of the kynges towns of Caleps and marches of the same, at the instant delyze of his neuewe syz francis Bypan knyghte, ended at Caleps the tenth day of Marche, in the yere of the reygne of oure

Sourraygne loode kynge
Henrye the. VIII.

the. XXIII.

BERTHELETI REGII

IMPRESSORIS.

CVM PRIVILEGIO ARE.

GE INDVLTO.

great Smillion

to love it our separed and supple the french maker on one finds when were will rook wears unet to separed to it our faire at boards out o REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION

I know there is no trust in youth, not hope in age. Thou complaynell, that thou halte nothunge. That is another quarell of the amozous ladies of Rome, whiche takping all, fay they have nothynge: and that ye lacke of credice pe do fulfpl with money. Therfoze beleue me louing fred. that the foly the estate, that procedeth of bulaufull wonnong, apueth small surette and telle good name to the per fone. I can not tell howe thou hafte fpende fo moche, for if I drewe of my rynges with one hande, thou byddefte pen my purfe with the other hand. I had greatter wartes with my coffres than, than I have nowe with myn enne mies. I coude neuer haue tewel, but thou woldeft demad it: no. I dyd neuer deny the. Powe at this houre I mer mayle, for in this myn age I fynde great hynderaunceby mp youthe. Thou complaynelt of trauaple and pouertte. I am he that hath great nede of that medicine for this o: pilation, and a playfter for that fooze, and to have fome colde water foz that hote feuer. Art thou not aduited, that I banythed my necessitie in the londe of forgetfulnes, and dyd let by thy well for the request of my leruice. In wynter I went all bare, and in fommer charged with clothes, I went on fote in the mpre, and rode in the faire way. wha I was heup, I laughed, and whan I was mery I wept. for drede Tozewe forthe my ftrengthes, and out of my Arengthes cowardyle. The nyghtes to lyah, & on the day to warte where thou wentest by. Whan thou haddist nede of any thynge, I was fayne to robbe my father for it. Td me Boemia, with whom fulfilleds thou then open folies, but with the pll orders that I putte my felfe to in fecrete! wote pe what me femith by you amozous ladies of Romer pe are in the courte as the lyttell moughtes eatynge olde clothes, a pattime for light folkes, trefozers of foles, ale pulchies of vices. This p femeth me is, p if in thy youth euerp

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every ma gaue to the, bicaufe thou thulbest give the to eve ma:now thou quelt the felf to every ma, because every må shuld gate them to the. Thou tell est me, that thou halt illons, a lackeft helpe for them. Yeld gracis to the goddis of the pitie that they have bled with the : they have given to.rb.childzen of fabricio iny negghbour but one father, s to two of thy children onely, they have given. I.fathers. Therfore deupde them amonge they fathers, and everye ma hal not have one fynger. Lucia thy boughter indede, ampn by fulpect, remembre & T have bone for ber more in marienge of her, that hou dioft in her procreation, for to the gettyng of her thou dyoff call dyuers, a to mary her 3 byd it alone. I wapte to the but lyttel, to the respect of that I wold write. Butrio Cornelio hath spoken moch on thy parte, he hom felfe hall shewe the as moche of my parte. It is longe ago lith I knewe then impacience. Iknowe wel thou wilt fende me an other letter moze malicious . A pray the fith A write to the fecretly, defame me nat opely. and what thou redeft this letter, remembre what occasios thou givelt me to write, a though & we be not frendis, pet wil I not leve to fend the filuer. I fend the a gowne: a the goddis be with p, a bypng me out of this warre with pece. Warke pretour in Dacre to his auncient louer Boemia.

The answere to the emperours letter fent by Boemia. The rbi. letter.

Demia thyn ancient louer, to the Marc of mout Celio her moztal enemy, I delice be geance of thy person, all foztune foz al thy life, I have received thy letter, a therby pecities thy danable entrailes a thy cruel ma lices. Suche yll persons as thou art hath

this privilege, & fith one both fuffre your vilanies i fecret, pe wyll

pe well burte them openly, but thou halte not do fo with me Marc: foz though I be not trefoureffe of the trefours pet at leafte I am treatoureffe or cupu pinelle : and where as I can not revenge me with mp person, I chall labour to do it with my tonque. And thynke that though we was men be weake, and our bodies fone ouercome, pet wyteit for certapne, that our hartes ar never banqueled. Thou favelt, that scappinge fro a battaple thou dybbelt recepue my letter, wherof thou were fooze abalbed: It is a berve common thynge to them that be weke and flacke, to freke of love, wanton fooles to treate of bookes, and to comars des to babble of armes : I fap it, bycaufe the answeringe to a letter was not of necessitie to reherfe to a woman as I am whither it were before the battaple or after. I know well, thou art scaped fro it, for thou were not the first that fought, noz the last that fledde. whan thou were pong. I neuer fawe the go to the warre, that euer 7 Drebbeer hab suspecte of thy lyfe: for knowpinge thy cowardyle, Inc uer toke care for then abfence, for therm I was most fure of the persone. Than Marc tell me now, what thou boff in then age. I thenke thou bearest the spere not for to inft in the warre, but for to leane on whan the goute greueth the. Thy helmette I beme thou bearest with the to brinke with in tauernes, and not to defende the fro the ftrokes of fwerdes, for I fawe the neuer ftrpke man with the fwerd, but I have knowen the fle a. D. women with thy tonge. D malicious and bnhappy Darc, if thou were as balyaunt as thou arte malicious, thou fhulbeft be as greately died of the barbarike nations, as thou arte in hatred, as reason is, with the matrones of Rome. Tell me what the lpfte, at the leaft thou canft not denpe, but that thou hafte ben a weake and flacke louer, fo thou arte nowe a weake and flacke cowarde knyght, an buknowen frende, auati cious

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cious, infamed, malycious, cruel, ennemy to every man, and frende to no hoove. Ind we that have knowen the pong frong and lufty, cobemne the for an olde fole. Thou favest, that takying my lettre in to thy handes, thy herte toke the poplon of malyce. I beleue it well without (we = reng for any theng beeng malicious forthwith fendeth lodarna i thy hous. Beaftes that be corrupt, lyahtly take the poplon, that they that ben of good complexyon cafte a= way. De one thyng I am in certagne, thou halt not bre of poplon . for one benyme oftentymes byftropeth an other benym. D Malpcyous Marc, pfall they in Rome knewe the, as well as forowfult Boempa dooth, they fhuld foone fe what difference were betwene the wordes that thou fpekelt, and the intencion of thy hert. And if by the wytinges that thou makelt thou meritelt to have the name of a phis lofopher, by the pines that thou boeft inuente, thou boffe merite to have the name of a traunt . Thou lavelt, thou fawest neuer certytude in the love of a woman, noz ende of her hate. I have great glozie, that other ladies befpbe me have knowlege of the small wesedome. If e Marc, I will not mocke the, thou arte luche one, as neuer Deler= ued that one foulde begynne to loue the, nor leave to bate the. worlt thou have certitude in love, and thou bufarth= full of thy feruice? Wylt thou ferue with mockeries, and woldest be loved truely ? wylte thou eniove the persone without frendring of any of the goodes? welt thou have no complayntes of the, and thou not ceasinge thy malyces! Thou fareft thou knowest the pines of women. I wyl thou know, we be not fo folythe as thou thinkelt, noz thou fo wpfe as thou weneft, to papfe thy felfe: pet hptherto bath ben sene mo men to folowe the appetpte of women, than there bath ben women folowpage the will of men. In none of bothe is great truft, and pet we bothe practife

that one man hath his harte so myahty to be more wyfer than thre wple women, and one woman thenketh her fo Atronge to put bider ber fete and ouercome. att. C. fuche as be light. Thou favelt, thou arte abalbed of my lightnes, to leave Rome, to go to the in the warres . Great is the love of the coutrey, lith that many leave druers welthes that they have in ftrange landes, and lyue ftraytely, for to lyue in their owne lande: but greatter is iny loue. fpth that I wolde leave Rome with al the pleasures to go and ferche for the in fraunge landes amonge the cruelle battaples. D malicious Barke, D ftraunge louer: if 7 leave Rome, it were to go and feke my bert beinge in the battaples with the. And certapnly dyners tymes whanne I doo thinke on thone ablence, I fwowne and fozowe as mp hart were not with me, and yet I fynde no perfyte remedy. I thinke not our love is lyke thefe beftes that ioy= eth of their pleafures, without to wille, and Defrie their wylles. I (weare to the by the goddelle Testa, and by the mother Bereconthia, that thou owell me moze for one day of love, that I have had to the, than for the feruices that I have done to the in. rrii. peres. Behold buhappy Marc. howe moche in thy prefence I have always regarded the, and in thyu absence I have alwayes thought on the, and fleppinge I have alwayes dreamed of the, I have wepte for the trauaple, and laughed at the pleasure, and finally all my welth I have wytheo the, and al then ylles I have wythed me. I enfure the one thynge, that as nowe I fele not fo moche the perfecution, that thou doeft to me, as 3 Do the mysknowlege that thou makeft to me. It is a gret folowe for an auaritious man to fe his goodes lofte: but without comparison it is ferre greatter for the louer to se his love pl besto wed: It is a hurt that is alwaye loze, as pepn alway peinful, a fozow alway fozowful, a it is a beth that

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that neuer enbeth. D ve men, if ye knew with what lous women loueth you in perfytenes whan they loue, a with what hert they hate whan they are let to hate : I Cwere to pou pe wold neuer copany with the in loue: 03 if pe bo loue them, neuer to leue the for feare of thep; hate, a how there is neuer arct hate, but where as moch loue was frift. But thou Malt neuer be gretly hatib, for thou were neuer truly loued of ladies. The forowful Boemia hath loued p. prif. vere of ber lyfe, a now the only hateth o tyl after ber beth. Thou favelt, I may be eaten for bertupce, and pet I wold be folde for wyne. I knowe wel I have erred, as one that hath ben ponge and loght, and whan I percepued that I had loft my way, and that my mplabuenture can fynde no way no; remedy : It is the greatteft loffe of al loffes, wha there is no rempop . I have erred lpke a feble and a beake woman, but thou halt erred as a fronge man: I have erred by fymple panozance, but thou hafte erred of a prepen fed and wylfull malyce: Thave erred, not knowing that I huld have erred, but thou knewell what thou boddeft: I haue trufted as faythfull to thy wordes, lyke a gentyll man, and thou hafte begyled me with a thoulande tefynges as a lper. Telle me, bybbelt thou not feke occasion to comme into mp mothers houle Getulia, to allure me her boughter Boempa to the mende! Deboeft not thou pro= mple my father to teache me to rebe in one pere ! and thou taughtest me to rede the boke of Duidius; of the arte of loue! Dyodeft thou not I weare to be my hul bande, and than withdrewell thy hande as a falle aduoultrer + Doeft thou not knowe, that thou never foundelt bilange in mp perfonne, no. I neuer founde trouthe in thy mouthe? 26 leeft thou canft not beny, but thou haft offended the gobdis, and arte infamed of men, a odious to the Romapus, fclaundsed of good folkes, and example to the yll folkes, \$1.II. and

and finally a traytour to my father and mother, a breker of thy farthe, and to me fozowfulle Boemia an bukrnbe louer. D malycious Marc, haure cyou nor cutte me in les ues, offernae to mp father to kepe bis bynes furely! Ill may the chekyn trufte the kyte, or the lambes the bolues: a worfe the to bring by the doughters of the that be good. D curled Barke, a Domageable keper of bines hath the matrones of Rome founde the, in keppinge their doughters: I (were, that there was nevther grape noz cluster. but it was eaten oz cut by the. Thou byoft eate me beinge arene. I promple the it bath lette the tethe on an vi edae. Thou lavelt. I typed by power of heate and ftrame. It difpleafeth me not fo moche, that thou favelt, as thou gy= uelt me occasion to say to the. Thy thame is so thamefull. and the malece fo bufhamefalte, that I can not answere the to the pourpole, without huttynge o; touchynge the quecke. I wolde werte of the, whan thou marredl fauftyn, whether thou fondelt her grene og type! Thou knowelt well, and lykewife fo do I, that other belive the, gau ged the bellel, and thou brankelt the lees : other gathered the grapes, and thou glerned the brue:other brd eate the grapes, and thou haddelt the hulkes . D wycked Warc, beholde then euplies, and howe the goddis have gruen the fuste chastylement, that thou being ponge merited not to be delyzed of thy louers, nor that thy wrues kepe feith to the in thone age. for to be aduenged of the persone, I nede none other thrnge, but to fe the maried to faultine. By the mother Berecenthia I promple the, o if the finall wyledome myght atterne to knowe entierly, what is fapd of ber and the in Rome, furely thou woldest were nyabte and day for the lyfe of fauftyn, and not leve the thoughtfull Boemia. D Darc, lyttell thought is taken for the & bowe fer is our biderstodyng bucoupled fro thy though

boul nelle of ti thyn that Dno fau open uide alon no fo is bu with and infai licio not, uerei faan the b bolo onet wyfe lo eu sapst that byca Tt is his p netty

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tes: bycaufe that with thy great boctrine by day tyme thy house is made a schole of philosophers, and the wanton= nelle of the work I successe by nyght, maketh it a bozdell of ruffiens. It is a tufte tugement of the goddis, that lith then onely malece luffileth to porlon many that be good, that one alone map fuffife to bubend and lofe thy renome. One difference there is betwene the and me, and thy wyfe faultyne: for my bedes are but in luspect, and pours are openly knowen in dede: myn are fecrete, and yours are e= uident: I haue ftobled, but ve baue fallen: Df one thing alone I haue merited to be chaftifed, but pe haue deferued no forgruenes: App dilhonour is deed with the faut, and is buried with myn amendmet, but your infamie is borne with your despres, and is brought by with your wylles, and lyueth fivil with your werkes : finally therfore your infamie (hall neuer dre, for you lyued neuer well. D ma= licious Marcus, with all that thou knowest, wotest thou not, that for logninge of a good name, an pll fame is recouered: and in the ende of a good lyfe, begymitth a good faame? Thou ceassest not to sape pile onelp bp suspicion, the whiche thy falle ingementes thewe the, and yet thou woldest we shulde not speake that we se with our eves. De one thenge be thou fure, that nepther of the, not of the wyfe faultine there is no falle wytneffe : forthe trouth is fo enident, that there nedeth not to invent any lies. Thou fapft, that it is an old quarel of amozous ladies of Kome, that in takinge fro many we are the poozest of all other, bycaufe we fayle in crebence, we are honoured for fyluet . It is of certaputie, that we mpftruft the hollie bicaufe of his prickes, the acornes, for his hul kes, the roles amoge nettyle, and the mouth for the malece. I have curiouf le taken hebe that thou never lapbeft well by women, no? I neuer coude fynde, that any wolde the good. 200 hat gret= Sl.iii. ter

ter correction finto I have of the wyckednes, or more ben geance for myn inturies, but to be certayn, that all theleupnae ladies of Rome are ferp or typ tyte, and wolde be glad of thy bethe. The tyfe of that manis wycked, that many bewayle, and in whofe bethe euery body retopfeth. It is the propertie of poore bukynde perfons as thou art. to forgette the great goodneffe done to them, and to befor ry for the lyttell that they grue. Is moche as noble hartis alouffe them in apupage to other, fo moche are they afta med to recepue feruices bnrewarded. for in giuinge they make them felfe lozdes, and in recepupng they are as felaues. I wolde wrte what thou halte apuen me, or what thou hafte recepued of me ! I have adventured my good name, and given the postestion of my personne: I have made the lorde and mapfter of al my goodes : I have ba anthed inp felfe out of mp countrep, and putte my felfe in perpli only for thy fake and in recompence of al this thou reprocheft me now of milerie. Thou never gaueft me any thing with the good wel not I never recepued it willing tp.noz it bpd me neuer profpt. Al thinges recouer a name, not for the common wetke that we fee, but forthe fecrete intention with whiche we worke. And thou buhappy man belieblt me, not to entop my perfone, but rather to baue mp monep. We ought not to cal the a clere louer, but a thefe, a a wylp fee rouer. I hav a lptel rynge of the, whis che I am determpned to cafte into the cpuer, and the clothynge that I had of the I have beent in the fice. Indyf that my body were airy thong ameded with the bread that Thaureaten of thon, I wold cutte mp flette, and let out the blode without any feare. D cutled Barke, thy barke malpee wolde not luffre the clerely to bnderffande my letter: for a entended not to af he monepe, to releve my pouertie and folytarynesse, but reknowledynge and thank kynge

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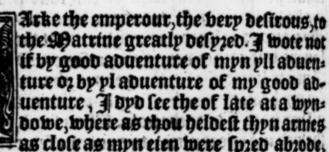
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honge to latisfie my wollonge bette. The barne and couetous menne as thou arte the felfe, are pleafed with giftes, but the hartes incarnate in loue are lettell fatisfied with fpluer. for loue onely is paped with loue agapne. The manne that loueth not as a manne of reasone, but as a brute beate, and the woman that loueth not but for the interest of her person : suche ought not to be trusted in their wordes, nor their persones Delpred. for the loue of ber endeth, whan the goodes fayle: and the love of hym. whan her beautie fayleth. If thy lone proceded onely of the beautie of my face, and my love only for the money of thy pours: it were not rrabte, that we were called wyle louers but rather very nyce perfones. D wycked Marke, I neuer loued the for the goodes, though thou louedft me for my beautie: with all my hart I loued the than, a with all my hart I hate the nom. Thou fauft, the goodes haue hewed me great pitie, to grue me fewe chplozen, and to them many fathers. The greattest malice in women is to be bulbamefalte, and the mofte bilante in men is to bepli lapers. Dyuers thiges ought to be fuffred for the fragili= te of women, whiche are not permytted in the wpfebom of men. I fay this bycaufe I never fame temperaunce in the for to cover then owne maleces, nor welcome to excuse the debilities of other. Thou favelt, that my fonnes have bruers fathers. I fwere buto the, that though thou dre, the chylderne of fauftyne Chall not be fatherles . And of trouth yf the goodis (as thou farest) have be pytiefull to mp cholozen, no telle arte thou to ftraunge cholozen. foz fauftin kepeth the but to excuse ber blame, ato be tutour of her chyldren. D curled Marc thou maple wel eniop and take no thoughte, for thone owne cholderne have no nede to be maried . for one thynge we are bounde, that is for the example the whiche thou dofte apue of the pacience: till a

Hoz lithe thou luftrest faustyne in so many infamies, it is no great nede that we suffre any secretes in the. I say no moze at this tyme, making an ende of my letter, desying the ende of thy persone.

a ponge mayben of Rome, of whom he was enamoured, seinge her at a wyndowe.



that curied be thep for ever. for in beholding the face my hart forthewith abode with the as profoner. The begynninge of thy knowledge is the ende of my reason, and felynge of floght. Df one trauaple cometh infinite trauap les to men, I fay tt, if I had not ben yoel, I had not gone oute of my boute, and pf that I had not gone out of my howfe, I hadde not gone oute in to the firetes, and if I had not passio through the strete, I had not sene the at the wyndower and if Thadde not fene the at thy wyndowe, I had not delized the perfore: and not deliving the perfon, That not put the name in fo great perell, not my lyfe in trauaple, 1102 had given none occasion in al Rome to fpeke of bs. Of a trouth lady Matrine in this cafe I condemne mp fette fpth I wold beholde the. And thou woldelt be fa tuted fith thou defired to be fene. And foth thou were fet as a whyte marke, it was no great meruaple that I hot with

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mith the arowes of myneies at the butte of thy beautie. with rollphae eies, with browes bent, wel coloured face, incarnate tethe, rubby lyppes, crifpe heares, handes fet with rynges, clothed with a. AB. maner of clothynges. bearringe purfes full of fwete fmelles, and bracelettes ful of knackes, with perles and flones at the eares. Tell me what becometh of a woman with thefe thynges, that wyl hewe ber felfe at a wondowe ! The moofte caufe is, that I can esteme or thynke therin, that fythe ve do shew your bodies openly to be at the ete, that your wylle is, that we fulbe knowe your delires fecretely. And if it be fo, as I afferme, that it is fo it femeth me madame Datrine, thou shuldest defire hym that defireth the, to informe hym that fercheth the, to answere hom that calleth the, a fele that he feleth, intende to hom that intendeth to the: and fothe 3 bnderstande the, bnderstande me, and bnderstande spthe thou doeft not biderstande. I am adupsed as I went by the frete falaria to le theues putte to Juftice, mpne epen fawe the at a wyndowe, on whome dependeth all my de= frieg. Thou boeft more Austreeto me, than A to the the= ues, for I beinge at Justice, thou halte iusticied the Jufince, a none date perne the. The apbet is not so cruell to them that never knew but pl doing, as thou art to me that neuer thought, but howe I mpatte do the seruice. The theues fuffre but one Dethe, and thou makelt me to fuffre a.M. in a dape: In one houre the theues lives are ended, and I ope euery mynute: I brawe towarde beth wongfully, and they luffre for their fautes: I luffre an innocet, they openly and I in fecrete. What thall I fave moze to the? of trouthe they were watry droppes with their eies. bycaufe they bye, and I wepe teares of bloud in my hart, bycaule I lyue. This is the Difference, their tourmentes spredeth abrode through al their bodies, and I kepe myn T t toapder

to gether in inp herte. D cruelle Matrine, I can not telle what Auftyce it is, to put men to deth that fteale money. fuffre women lyue that robbe mennes hettes : If they? eares be cut of, that pyke mennes purces, why are wome than pardoned, that robbe mennes inwarde hertes a entraples! By thy noblenes I pray the, and by the goddeffe Tlenus I confure the, eyther answere to my delyze, ozels reftoze my herte agayn, whiche thou hafte robbed fro me. I wolde thou kneweste the clere farth of my herte, rather than this letter writen with my hand. If myne aduenture were foo good, as to fpeake with the, a that thy loue were not allamed therof; I wolde hope with the light a fpech. to wynne that whiche am in suspect to lese by my letter. The reason is, bycause thou herest my pile and rude reafong redynge my letter. And if thou faweft me thou fuldefte fe the cruell teares that I offre to the by my lyfe. I wolde my mouth coude publythe mone enraged euplies, as my herte feleth, then I (were to the lady Datrine, that my greuous Doloz fhulde awake thy fmall thought. Ind as thy beautie a mine affection bath made me thyn owne, the knowelege of my passion sould make the myne. I defree that thou huldelt regarde the begrinninge, and ther= with regarde the ende. Certapnip the same day that thou enpaplonedit inp herte at the wendowe, in the boungeon of my delpres, I had no leffe werkeneffe to be ouercome, thanne thou haddelte force to constrapne me. And more greatter is the power to put the felfe from me, thanne my reason is to put me fro the. I are noo mercye of the, but that we myghte declare oure wylles together. But in this case what write thou that I shulde say, but that thou halt so moche power ouer me, and I so lytel of my liberte, that well I nell I my herte can not be but thene: And hit beyinge thyme, thou mayfte and wylt not declare thy felfe

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to be myn. And lith it may not be, but that my life must be condensued in thy servece, be thou as sure of my fayth as I am doutefull of thy hope: For I shall have a greatter welthe to be loste for thy sake, thanne to wynne any other thynge. I wyll say no more atte this tyme, but that thou accompte my perdiction and dethe, and drawe the lyfe of my teares in to open tope: And by cause that I holde my fayth in thy sayth, and wyll never despayre in thy hope, I sende to the. r. lytell rynges of gold, with. r. stones of I lerandry: And I consure the by the mortall goddes, that whanne thou does put they mon thy syngres, to sette me in thy herte and entrayles. Parcus amorous wrote this with his owne hande.

Tan other letter sente by Marc the emperoure to the sayd gentylwoman Matryne.
The. rbiii. letter.



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Arke habytaunt atte Rome, to the Matryne his ryghte swete enemy. I call the swete, for it is Just that I dre for the. And I call the enemy, bycause thou ma kest not an ende to see me. I can not tel wherin it is, but sythe the feast of Jano

hytherto, I have wipten thre letters to the: And to the answere of them I wolde that I had seen two letters from the, if it were thy pleasure. If that I serve the, thou woldest that I shuld not serve: if I speke, thou wilt not speke to me: if I loke at the, thou wilt not beholde me: if I call the, thou wilt not answere: if I visite y, thou wilt not se me, if I write to the, thou wilt give me none answere, and worst of al, yf other do shewe the of my dolours, thou makest but a mocke therof. And if I had as moch knowlege, E. ii. where

where to complayne to the, as thou half power to remedy the playntyfe, my wyfedome shulbe no lesse be praysed as monge wyle men, than thy beautie is amonge fooles. I pray the hartely regarde not the contravieties of my realong, but regarde the farthe of my wepringes, the whiche in wytnelle of my pernes I do grue buto the. I wote not what good may come to the of my harmes:no; what won nynge of my loffe thou chuldelt hope to gette : noz what furetie of my perpile thou fulbe attapne buto: noz what pleasure of my displeasure thou mayst have. Thave had aunswere of my mellanger, that without redyinge of my letters, thou halt with thy handes tozen them all to pieces. It ought to suffile the to thynke, that my person were hewen in quarters, pet I wolde thou haddelt redde thefe Small lynes lady Matrine: fo; by them thou hulbest have fene, howe my thoughtes were troubled. pe women are fo extreme that for faut of one man, a woma well complain of all other men in generall, to that pe be cruel for one par ticular cause. Openly pe pardone all mens lyues, and in fecrete pe procure euerp mans dethe. I efteme it nothynge Dame Matrine that thou hafte Done: but I lament me of that thou bemaundedst Walerius thy negabour to fage to me. Dne thynge I wolde thou haddelt in memozie and not forgot, and that is, fithe that my lybertie is fo fmall, and thy power to great, bycaufe I beinge all holly myne owne, I am tourned to be then, that thou fuldeft thinke, that whan thou woldest inturie me, thou shuldest do most iniurie to thy felfe, fythe that by the I dpe, as thou by me Dolle lyue. In this pil purpose perseuer not, for thou dost aduenture the lyfe of by bothe. Thou damnest thy condicion, and diffroyeft my helth, and finally thou must come to the medicine. Forgive me dame Matrine, if I fap any malyce to the, that is, I knowe that pe women befpze one thynge,

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thrnge, and kepe bs in diede, that it (boulde not come by her thought. Thou were wont to be wel condicioned and at least though thou doeft not put it in bre, pet thou halte the fame therof: and an ancient fame ought not to be left for a newe bukpnones. Thou knowelt wel, what contrarynesse dothe bugentylnesse to the bertues in bertuous boules, and thou canft not be called bertuous, but if thou be gentyll and courteple. There is no gretter bukynones, than to loue ber that loueth not me: That I bilite the, and thou biliteft not me, that I fpeake to the, a thou fpeakeft not to me is nothinge, that I knowlege the, a thou wilt not know me is nothing, though I wepe and thou laugh is nothynge, thoughe I bemaunde, and thou benpelt is nothynge, though thou owe me, and neuer pape, pet it is nothynge: but where as I love the and thou not me is a great thynge: that thyng that can not be diffimuled with the eies, nor the hart suffre all the brees amonge mortall creatures, it is reason that they be forguen, bycause they are commptted by nature, saue onely the bulouynge of women, and the bukyndnelle of men, whiche are byces commytted of malpce. After dpuers feruices by me done to the, and moche more that I have to do hereafter, thou Matrone mapfe all onely pay me with one thong. I play the refuse not to apue me remedy, sythe I have not offred me in the perpll . If thou fay, that Patroclus thy fpoufe hath the proprette ouer the, pet at leaste recepue me to the profe, and I chall pretende possession of the. And in this wife in the payneglozie to be thyn, thal couer the domage not to be mpn. Thou makeft me to meruaple foze, howe for fo fmall a mercy and rewarde thou can fuffre fuche im= postunitie fo longe. for certayne many thinges we grant to an importunate manne, the whiche are not graunted to a temperate man. If thou hopelt to ouercome me Ma= Tt.iii. tryne,

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tryne, I holde my felfe banquy sched, if thou wylte lose me, I holde me foz lofte, if thou wyl fle me, I pelo my felf as beade. for by the gelture that I make afore thy gate. and the frahes that I make in mpn owne hous, are aret-Ip myne to refpfte, and the grenous affault of the, be edp: fices moze to fommon dethe, than to defende the lyfe: yf thou wolt that I scape this daunger, deny me not the remedp, bycaule it halbe a gretter byce in the to fle me, tha bilany to apue me remedy. And it were no iufte thong for To fmall a parce to lofe the farth of fo gret ferupce. I wote not what to bo, to make the my debtour, and thou to pave me. And pet worlt of al, I wote not what to bo, no; what to thinke noz to fap, noz to whom to determine me, bicaufe I can not affure any profete in me, but to be certagne in thy feruces. And bicause thou doste truste hym that hath done this mellage, by hym I do fend this open letter, and mp fecrete aunswere. I do sende the a tewel of perles, and a befant of golde. To the goddis I do comende the. Ind I require the for to recepue it with as good a wille as I Do prefent it buto the. Marc the oratour to the right hono table Matrone.

Ta letter fent by Marc the emperour to Lybia a fayze lady Romanne. The. rip. letter.

Arke full of soowe and pensyfenes to the Lybia takynge but lyttell thought of care: of the small thought passed any thynge on me, and also of my troubles and dolours were lodged and dydde reste in the, than thou shuldest perceyue and se howe smalle

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the tourment that I doo fuffre, pf the blafinge flames iffued out, as the freed brondes doo brenne me within, the fmoke worde reache to the heuens, and make ymbres of the exthe: pf thou boeft well remembre the fraft trine that I fame the in the temple of the virgins bestales, thou be= pinge there praped to the goddis for thy felfe, and I on my knees praped the for my felfe . I knowe well thou offredit bony and ople to the goddis, and I offred to the fooze wes pringes and lyghes. It is a fulle thringe to grue more to hom that offreth his inwarde entraples, than to hom that draweth money out of his purfe to offre. I have determi= ned, and disposed me, to write to the this letter, that thou fuldelt le how thou arte served with the arowes of myne eies, that were hotte at the whyte of thy ferupces. Alas, howe forowful am I to thynke, leaft the calme tyme now, bothe theeten me with the tempest to come. I wyl fay, that disloue in the, causeth the hope doubtfull in me. Beholde what inpladuenture, I had lofte a letter, and I retour= ned to the temple to feke for it, but I had nece loft my felf, in going thether fo often, cofpbering my fmal merite. I fe well, that myn eies the ladders of my hope, are fet on foo hye a walle, that no lesse is the doubte of my fal, than the daunger of the clymmynge bp. Thou bowynge downe the leaves of thy high merytes, hafte broughte me to the poput of continuall feruice. Lette me haue the fruite, and give the leaves to whome thou wpite: By the immortable goddis, I have great meruaple, by cause I thought that in the temple of the birgins Cleftales, no manne foulde baue habbe temptations. But as nowe I do fynde by er= perience, that the woman is more lyberall and fooner o= uercome, that is fast and straytly kept and watched than other. All the corporalle bomages are fyrite harde of, er they be knowen, and knowen er fene, and fene er they be felte.

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felte, and felte er they be tafted, pet it is not fo in loue. for firste they fele the stroke therof, er they se the way howe it cometh. The lyghtnynge is not fo loderne, but it is feene afore the thonder clappe, nor the wal falleth not fo fodeinly, but fyalte some stones Do backe asonder, not the colbe cometh not so falte on, but some smal speueringes cometh before: but all onely loue is not felt tyll it be letled in the entraples. Let every man knowe it that knowe it not and thou lady Libie if thou well knowe: Loue fleveth whan we wake, and waketh whan we flepe, and laugheth whan we were, and wereth whan we laugh: It affureth in takynge, and taketh in affuringe: Ind fpeketh whan we be fivil, and is fivil whan we speke: And finally it is of that condicion, that for to grue be that we befrze, hit caufeth bs to lyue in perne. I (were to the, whan my wol became thy feruaunte, and thy beautie caused that thou were my lady, whan I was in the temple and retomed agarne this ther, not delyzonge the, thou beheldefte me, and as bnhappy loked on the. But D what a thuoghte came to me that my herte bernge hole, thou halte beupded, beinge in helth thou hafte burte, beinge aliue thou hafte flarne, be pinge myn thou hafte stollen it, and that worste of al is, not helppinge to my lyfe, thou confentell that love affayle me to the beth. Many tymes ladge Libya confyderinge that al my thoughtes ben byghe and my fortune lowe, I wold have seperate my selfe fro the, But conspoeringe that my trauaples are well applied in thy ferupces, I fay though I mpahte I wille not be leperate fro the. I will not benie one thinge, and that is, that curfed love taketh away the tafte of al thinges, and yet therby alonely it grueth bs ap petite, the whiche gineth be moche pll prouffite. This is the profe of him that loueth hertily. For one disfauour of them that is beloved, is moze than all the favoure of this lyfe

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lpfe. I thinke laby Libia thou art cretly abathed to fe me outwarde as a philosopher, and to knowe me inwarde a fecrete louer. Tozave the Lybia discouer me not : for pf that the goddis apue me longe life, I am mynded for to amende. Ind thoughe I be atte this houre but a ponge foole in the arte of love, whan I am olde I hall be wife: the goddis knowe what I befire, and the force that I bo enforce me to:but as the flethe is weake and the hart ten-Die, and hath many occasions and fewe bertues, and the worlde fubtyll, and the people malicious, I paffe this beaynnyng and fpzing of floures, with hope that in harueft I hall haue some fruite. Dame Lybia Doeft thou thinke. that philosophers though they were never so sage, be not ftroken with the cruelties of love ! and that bider they? cours clothes their flefhe is not fmoth! Certapnip amoge the hard bones foft flefhe is bredde, bnder the tharpe bufkes the chestnutte is nourysbed. I save that bnder cours apparell, is true and perfete loue. I dene not but that our flacke nature respsteth not with bertues, no? I beny not, but there be ponge waton delpres, not repressed with bertuous purpoles: I deny not, but that the bytte of youthe is not refrepned with the bypdell of reason: I benye not, but that that the fleshe procureth, is dyuers tymes withstande by wysedoine. Ind also I knowlege well, that he that is not amozous, is a foole. Ind thou knowest, that thoughe we be wyle, we leave not therfore to be men . All that ever we lerne in all our lyues, fuffileth not to knowe howe to rule the flesche one houre. To wple men in this cafe bathe fallen many errours : there be many marfters in bertues, and many moo bath bene, and pet they baue ben ouercome with bices, wherfoze than doeft thou mer= uaple of me alone . I confesse of trouthe, that I had neuer mone binderstondpinge so clere, as whan Cupyde fau-Ub ned

ned wand on me with his winges. There was never none buto my tyme, that ever was noted byle, but fielt he was a puloner a bound with the love of Cupyde. Gratian was amozous on Campy: Solon Salamin' apuer of the lawes, was amozous of Grecyane : Pytacus Ditelenus lefte his owne wyfe, and was enamoured of a bondwoma. that he broughte fro the warres. Cleobolus the curvan. whan he was ful. rritti. pere olde, and had red philosophy rlb. pere, scalpage the house of his nevabbour, fel of the ladder, and dyed: Periander prince of Acape, and a great philosopher of Grece, at p paper of one of his louers flew his wyte: Anacharces a philosopher a Scitean of his father fpde, and a greke of his mother fpde, was fo enamo: red of a woman of Thebes, that he taught her al his counynge, and whan he was fycke in his bedde, the redde in the Cchole for hym: Epimenides of Crete, that flepte. rb. peres without waking, and though he was.r. pere a gret worthypper of the goddis, vet he was banyfhed from Athenes for the loue of women: Archyta Carentyn, map= fter of Plato, and disciple of Pothagozas, occupied his mynde moze to invent the kyndes of love, than his forces in doctrines of bertues: Gozgio Cleontino, bozne in Sp= cyll, kepte rather concubines in his chambre, than bokes in the scholes. All these were wple men, and pet we mape fe, howe at the laste they were ouercome with the fleshe. Than blame not me alone : foz as I haue tolbe offo fewe in noumbre, fo I coude recyte of other a holle armpe. Df trouthe he ought to have many thynges, that wyll be taken as curious in loue. De multe haue his eien Displaged on her that he loueth, his bnoerstandpinge foze altered in that he thinketh, his tonge troubled in that he fould fay: So that in feinge be be blynded, in thoughtes wandzing, and in speakynge troubled. D lady Libia, the loupnge in mocke=

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mockerve paffeth by mockerie: but where as the true hert is, there is the arefe and no mockerie. Loue hebeth ber porfone, and cruelle Cuppoo frreth his arowes bope to the fethers. Than the even were, the herte frabeth, the fleshe trymbleth, the spnewes Chapnke: the bnberfanbynge wareth groffe, reason fayleth, and so all falleth to the exthe, foo that finally the heuve louer abidyng in him felfe, holdeth lyttell og nothynge of hym felfe. All this 3 far bycaufe that knowlege to loue farleth in me : pet be pe fure, that the workes faple me not to worke in the feruice. And lithe hit was my adventure to le the, nowe it is my chaunce to knowe the, I demaunde nothunge els of the, but that thou wilte love me trewely, foth I love the with= out fepnynge. Ind pf thou hafte berde, that I am fycke at my harte, I velyze the to bo me fome good: for fythe it is all onely in the, it is reason that thou all onely seke for remedy. I was greatly comforted, whan fabius Carly= nus delyzed me in thy behalfe to be a palloner, and I byd incontinent all that thou dyddeft delyze, to thentent that thou on some day shuldest do that I delyze. And beholde lady Lybia, the woman that is ferued with ferupces, it is reason that the recepue some prayers. And thoughe mp Arengthes have no power to open the gates of the pourpole, as nat to agree to thy bemaunde, pet all my labours be bycause of thy renowine. I praye the discouer not the one, noz bearle me nat with the other. foz now thou feeft that in grauntinge is remedy, and in trufte is comforte, but promesse is decepuable, the delapenge is perplious, and the entreatpnge byndeth. I fe berge welle, that the hafty bemaunde beferueth a longe aunswere : but I wold not that thou fhuldeft do foo: but as I defpze the, fo de= fpje me. I fape agapne, I am all thyne, and not myne owne. And as for my felfe in all thinges I wyll ferue the. Ulb.ii. And

Ind lady Libia regarde, that it were as moch honour for the, as profytable for me, to tourne thy bilorbinate belpres and purpoles. for thou feelt well it is moche better to beale fortely than to late with faylynge of the purpofe. all women kepe one daungerous opinion, that is, they wyll neuer recepue councell that is gruen them in a great caufe: and if it be fo, as Ithynke, fithe thou art papfed and eftemed of great beautie, than be eftemed to recepue good councel. And in this maner in cafe that my bomage be bery great, and thy pacience bery lyttell, I chalbe cal= led wyle to avue the luche coudcell, and thou right aracious to folowe it. Dne thynge I fage: and pardone me, though I fewe it to the howe that women be greatly in= famed, that wyll take no countagle, and fuche as wyll affure their renowme by the opinyon of other, as moche as though they were determined to to bo their felfe. Wher= fore I wolde ye fhuld do one thing for an other, as I cousaple you. And pf thou fyndest any pll therby, withdiawe thy hande. I wyll fay no moze to the, but that I do pies fent to the al my buhappy troubles, my desperate lyghes, and my ferupces as thy feruaunt. Aby troubled bolours, my wordes of philosophy, and my amozous teares. Also I fende the a grabille of golde, and I grue it the on the condiction, that thou fette then eies theron, and apply the harte to me. I praye the goddis to giue me to the and the to me. Marcus Aurelius the philosopher writeth this in berp great secrete.

THUS ENDETH THIS GOLDEN Boke of the eloquent Marc Aurelie emperour: who so ever be respective thereof may take it by reason for a ryche and a newe labour, and specially principand governours of the common welth, and mynisters of tustice, with other. Also the common people eche of them maye finde the labour cons

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uenient to they; effate . And therin is conteyned certagne right bigh and profounde fentences, and holfom counfel= les, and næcuaplous deuples ageyntte thencumbrance of fortune: and right (wete confolations for them that are o= uerthrowen by fortune. finally it is good to them that of gelte it, and thanke god that hath gruen fuche grace to a papnym, in grupnge bs example of bertuous lyupnge, with the and falutarie doctrines and meruaplous infirus ctions of perfectnes. Certainly as great prayle as ought to be gruen to the auctour, is to be gruen to the tranflatours, that have labozoufly reduced this treatyle oute of Greke into latyn, and out of latyn into Caltilyan, and out of Caltilyan into frenche, and out of frenche in englythe, writen in high and fwete Aples. D right happy trauaple, lythe that luche fruyte is illued therof. And also blellyd be the handes that have warten hit. A cychte precious meate is the fentences of this boke: But finally the fauce of the land lwete fiple moueth the appetite. Many bokes there be of substanciall meates, but they be so rube and to bulauery, and the fivle of to small grace, that the frate morfelle is lothefome and nortull: And of fuch bokes followeth to lye hole and founde in Lybraries, but I trufte this wylle not. Df trouthe great paple is due to the auctour for his trauaple. And fyth there can be no grace equi= polent in erthe, lette bs prave to god to apue hym grace and reward in heuen. Amen.

Graces to god. FINIS.

Thus endeth the bolume of Marke Aurelie emperour, otherwpse called the golden boke, translated out of frenche into englyshe by John Bourchier knyghte loode Barners, deputie generall of the kynges towns of Caleys and marches of the same, at the instant despre of his neuewe syr francis Bryan knyght, ended at Caleys the tenth day of Marche, in the pere of the repgne of oure

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